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THE TYRELLS OF ENGLAND

THE TYRELLS OF ENGLAND

O. F. Brown

Phillimore

1982

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PREFACE

My involvement with the Tyrells began in 1966 when I was virtually press-ganged into the operation by the quiet determination of Sister Annunciata at the Convent of Jesus and Mary, Thornton; a statement which, to the uninitiated, must require some elaboration and elucidation, or else the matter will remain as obscure as before. Briefly, as the local doctor attending the girls' boarding school at Thornton, I had discovered in Sister Annunciata, the nursing nun at the school, a shared interest in matters historical. She was therefore aware of my researches into local history for articles in the annual magazine of our local Archaeological and Historical Society, as well as the compilation of a history of the parish of Passenham where I was then living.

When, therefore, Sister Annunciata begged me to be the depository of the papers of the deceased Rev. William Tirrell (a name which meant little or nothing to me ar the time), in order to avoid the imminent likelihood of his many years' work being cast out and lost, I was unable to refuse. The reverend's work was stated to be nearly ready for publication, requiring only to be tidied up a bit. As I was already committed to other projects, and genealogy was not in any case my particular interest, I resisted the blandishments of Sister Annunciata and her exhortations to complete the task. Or so I thought; only to be thoroughly disconcerted when, within a few weeks, I began to receive letters from the United States expressing gratitude for my taking on the task of finishing the Tyrell history!

To this day I cannot convince myself what was the motivation that started me on the long years of Tyrell hunting: was it satisfaction at being 'chosen' by unknown voices from afar which I could not disappoint; was it the challenge of a new line of historical research to stimulate my interest in wider fields; or was it simply a mental lethargy which hindered any active response and explanation of why I could not, or would not, shoulder this burden, but retire instead behind a plea of 'what will be, will be'? In the event, it was probably a combination of all these considerations that finally led me to accept that I would sort and arrange the Rev. Tirrell's notes for publication. That was when I began to become aware of the problems I had unwittingly brought upon myself.

The Rev. William had indeed filled many notebooks, exercise books, and piles of loose leaves with notes and jottings of 'Tyrelliana', much of which was of great value as a basis for a study of the family in England. However, much of it was, alas! unreferenced material, the source of some of which could be inferred, but much was open to doubt. The problem was compounded by his apparent habit of producing some of the material out of the top of his head, so to speak. For instance, he would give a list of the children of a certain man and his wife, with notes of whatever was known about them; then he would add marginal notes and suggestions at a later date, e.g., 'perhaps there was another son X?' This is all right so far (assuming that

the original list was authenticated, which in many cases it was not), but some pages further on in a 'revised list of the children of so and so' one would find the earlier suggestion now included as fact without any supporting evidence. Much of the material is therefore suspect for this reason, together with similar instances of over-enthusiasm for producing the desired answer.

Furthermore, there was a noticeable lack of information concerning the Tyrell family during the two centuries from approximately 1100 to 1300 (a period when there were said to be 'knights in every generation') till the advent of James in Essex at the beginning of the 14th century. This is a statement akin to the legend on a medieval map reading 'here be giants'. Accordingly, I turned my attention to this 'missing period', and after several years of sporadic searching filled two loose-leaf files with referenced notes dealing with Tyrells of these centuries. From this material I subsequently drew up the chapters of 'Tyrells of the Missing Period' in Ireland, the 'Welsh Borders', the South West, the East Midlands, and East Anglia, practically all of which was unknown to the Rev. William or the sources from which he drew his early Tyrell pedigree.

During the past ten years and more I have journeyed to churches across the breadth of England, from Essex to Herefordshire. This is a pleasurable pastime on a fine summer's day, though finding the church locked after a journey of 100 miles and being unable to locate the key is a frustrating experience, mercifully only once happening to me. Usually the rector is anxious to tell one about his church, an enthusiasm which may interfere with one's study of the premises in a limited time, but invariably is helpful and accommodating. In many churches I met the rector by accident while making my searches, in others I went by appointment to see some particular item, as, for instance, the registers at Stewkley. When I wished to visit East Horndon the church was locked and in a dangerous state of dilapidation, but the rector opened it up so that I could examine everything for myself. This proved to be an invaluable exercise as the visible facts did not tally with the written reports and articles I had previously studied. At Oakley, after I had catalogued the monuments in the vestry, the rector held my torch while I climbed behind the organ to study an obscured wall monument, and we then repaired to the rectory for a splendid afternoon tea. Such are the delights of historical research on the ground, but the majority of the time was spent and most information retrieved from long hours in the Reading Room of the British Museum or the Public Record Office.

Some comment is necessary upon the spelling of the family name, as it will soon become apparent to the reader that in the text this appears in many and varied ways. Before the standardisation of spelling, the individual choice of each writer determined the shape of the finished word, and a simple name with the basic form of T'r'l is open to many choices of spelling. Thus we find 'i' or 'y' as the first vowel with one or two letters 'r' or 'l'; then because the 'i' and 'e' sounds are not very different, a reversal of these gives further choices. Furthermore, an 'a' or 'o' as second vowel is sometimes found; also an occasional 'Tiril' with its 'rr' and 'll' variants. There must be more than ten possible combinations, and any or many may be found in one place at any particular time. Thus we find James of Heron recorded four times within a two-year period by four different versions of his surname.

This being so, the use of a constant spelling is not possible, and the version used in the text is that found in the original where this is a direct reference, whilst the

particular spelling adopted when using the name in a general sense is usually the form occurring predominantly among the sources being quoted. The form found most commonly among the later families certainly seems to be 'Tyrrell', and the important branch at Thornton usually used this spelling, but the Essex family from which these all descended more often than not used the version with only one 'r'—Tyrell. As this is also the spelling in the first recorded mention of the family, Walter Tyrell of 1030, it seems the most appropriate choice for use in the title of the book.

There is really no such thing as a definitive work of genealogy; new information may appear at any time in some unsuspected place and add a new dimension to the picture already drawn. Indeed, since completing the draft version of this study I have been able to make several alterations and additions in the light of small items that have turned up. I do not, therefore, claim that this account of the Tyrells of England is in any way complete or final, and I venture to hope that future discoveries may fill out or even rectify some of what I say here. I cannot hope to do more than stand on the principle of presenting the facts as they are presently ascertainable, supplying references for the sources of all information, with discussion and theorising only within these bounds, while making it clear what is factual and what is supposition. I hope that you, the reader, however much you may desire to find a family tree extending back to Methuselah, will accept the integrity of my intentions and discover in this compilation of material concering the Tyrells of England much that will be of interest, and a source of basic information against which to examine any new evidence which may come your way.

> Who knows whether the best of men be known, or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot, than any that stand remembered in the known account of time?
>
> *Hydrotaphia*, 1658, Sir Thomas Browne

INTRODUCTION

In attempting to reconstruct a family history, it is essential to remember the many obstacles which lie in the path. Whereas, to use an apt simile, the leaves and upper branches of a tree may stand clear against the sky, the lower limbs and trunk can well become obscured by undergowth, and the roots themselves are lost in the ground. Thus, we find it relatively simple to define the later generations of a family as these fall within a well-documented period, but as we travel back surviving records become increasingly more scarce, allowing us only fleeting glimpses of an incomplete picture.

So it is with the story of the Tyrells, which we can readily divide into three main sections:

First, there is the sudden appearance on the English scene of Walter Tyrell, playing out his fate to gain a permanent place in history as the reputed slayer of King William II. It seems impossible to define Walter's place in the Tyrells of France or England. The College of Heralds in later times when the family was well established in Essex, gave them a pedigree deriving from Walter; but this type of derivation granted at a rather uncritical time has, in the case of several well-known families, proved to have been more imaginative than authentic. However, I have endeavoured to set out and assess the possibilities (which can be proved or disproved only by some new discovery), leaving the reader to form his own judgement.

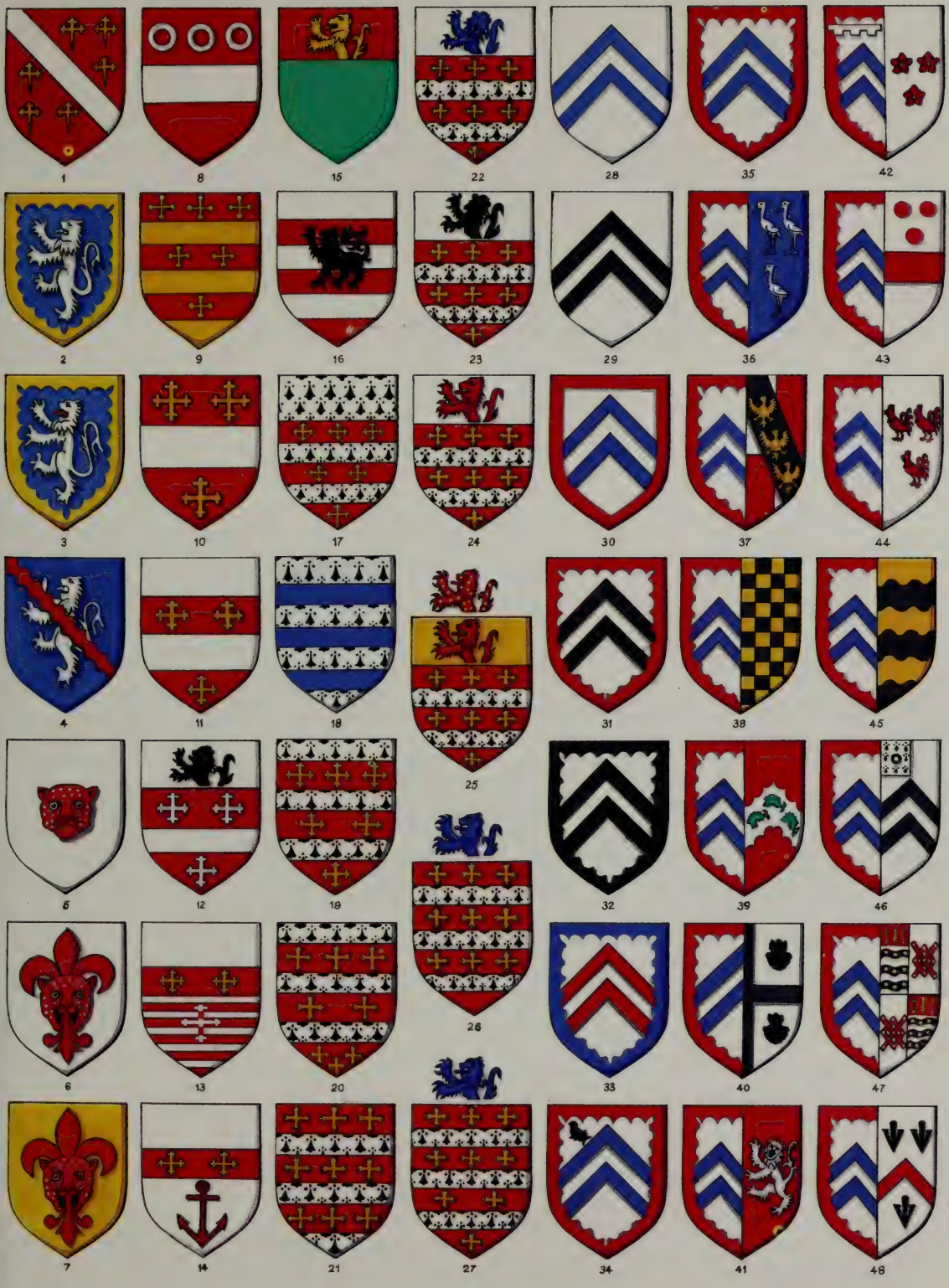
The second section of the story concerns the tree trunk obscured in the undergrowth. We have here a period of approximately 150 years, from the mid-12th century, when we lose sight of Walter's descendants, until the beginning of the 14th century when Tyrells became settled at Heron in Essex. If but a few names occurred in the same part of the country, it would be a reasonable supposition that we were being given glimpses of one continuing family, but I have found references to several Tyrells in various parts of the country at this time, and cannot connect them except in name.

We do not know how many Tyrells may have left their home-ground in Picardy to come to England in the train of the Norman conquerors; there is reference in Domesday Book only to Walter, but it is quite conceivable that others crossed the Channel. The Viking spirit was still strong in the Norsemen of Normandy as evidenced by the representatives of many knightly families, active in the kingdoms of southern Italy and Sicily, and their further extension to Asia Minor where a branch of the Tyrells held important official positions in the principality of Antioch at the time of the crusades.

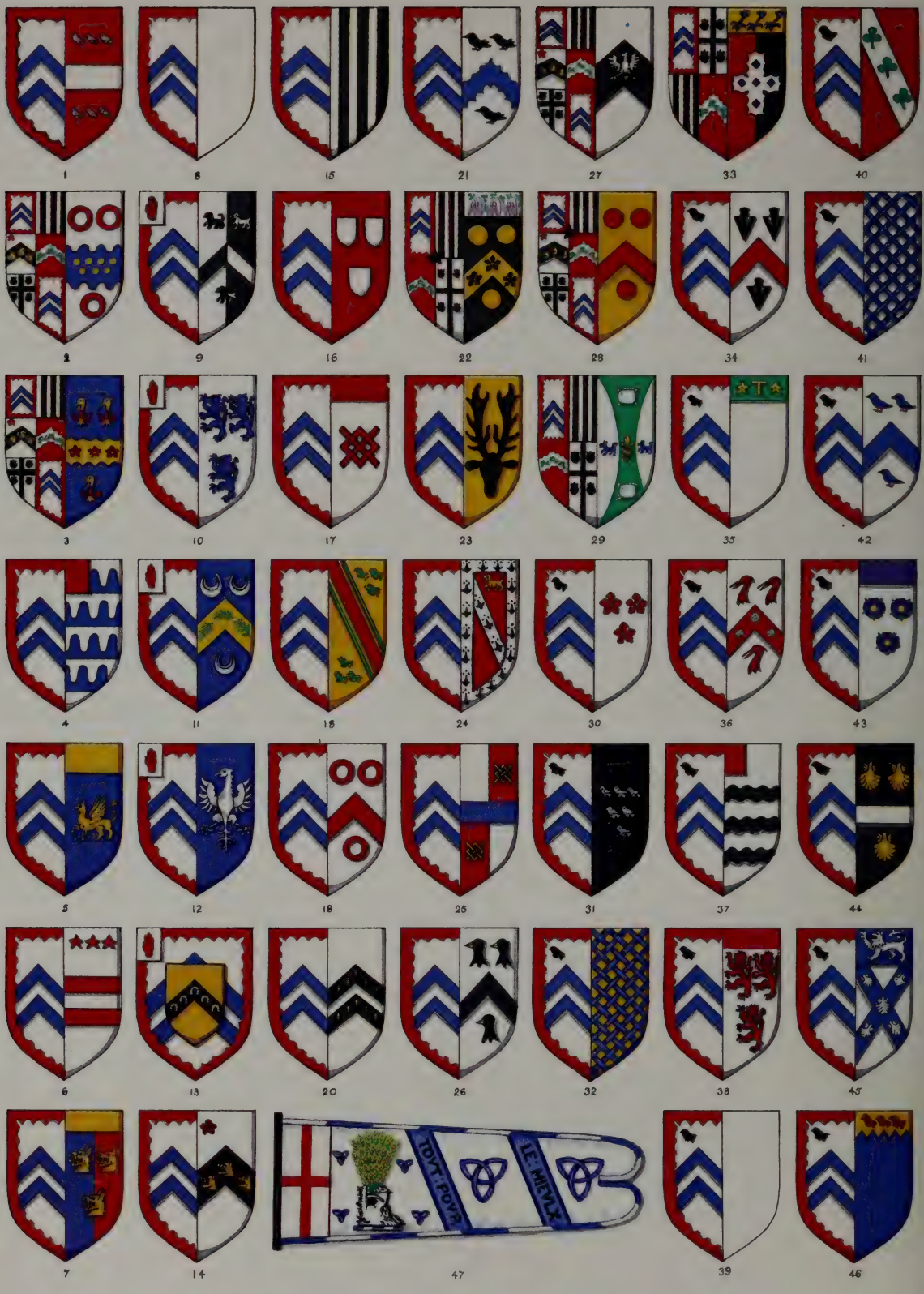
If we accept, then, the probability of several Tyrells coming to England at this period, and the multiplitication of sons at each successive generation, there could have derived many branches, not all descended directly from Walter. That one of these lines eventually settled in Essex is certain. One thing alone we can state: Tyrell is a French name, and the later family unquestionably descend from Picardy and, if

not directly through Walter, then back to his parent stock through a close member of his family.

Thirdly, with the establishment in the early 14th century of the family at Heron the main stem becomes visible again, and the subsequent branches more clearly discernible. History only records in any detail the activities of the famous or infamous few. For the greater part, therefore, we must accept little more than lists of names; the marriages and progeny may be well documented, but for only a few of the hundreds listed can the bare bones be invested with any semblance of flesh.



Illustrated by C.E. Francis.



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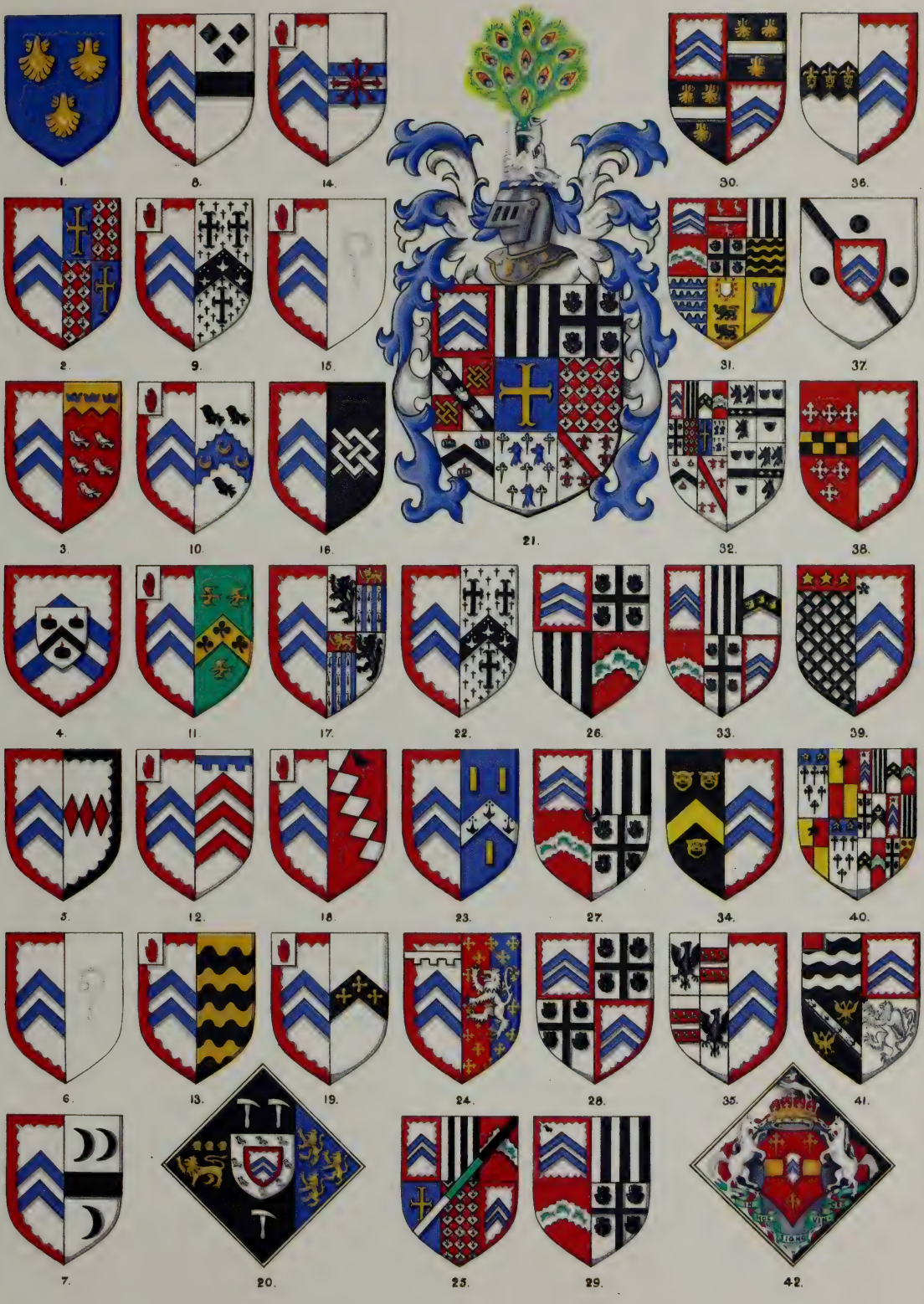
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42.
Illustrated by C.E. Frances.

De la Tournay

En la Ville de Dunstable,
L'an second du Roy Edward
fitz Edward.

Cheualiers, &

1 Le Conte de Gloucestre, qui porte d'or, a iij cheuerons de goules.

2 Sire Robert Darcy, d'argent, a 3 quintfoiles de goules, a la bordure endente de sable.

3 Sr Michel de Worthyngton, porte de gules a vne lion rampaund de or, coronè d'or.

4 Sr Roger Tyrel, porte d'azure, vne lion rampt d'or, o la bordure endente d'or.

5 Sr Henry de Pomeberay, porte barre d'or, et d'azur, vne bende de goules.

6 Sr Laurence de Hameldecy d'or, frette de goules, floretè d'or.

7 Sr Gilles d'Argenten, de g, o 3 coupes d'or, treffle d'or.

8 Sr Gilbert Bekesford, porte bende d'or, et de g, vne label de g.

9 Sr Michel Poynz, barre d'or, et g. a 8 peces.

10 Sr John de Bellyng, d'or, o 3 lions rampt g.

11 Sr Reyer Gamere, bende or, et g, vne baston d'or.

12 Sr John de Lofford, d'or, o 2 bendes de sab.

13 Sr Thomas de la Bende, or, et g. a vne baston d'or.

14 Sr de Clare, porte d'or, a 3 cheurons de g, o le label d'or.

15 Sr John de Wingeton, d'or, o le cheef d'or, o 2 floures de lice d'or, en le cheef.

16 Sr Piers de Seint Amand, d'or, frette de sab, o le cheef de sab. 2 molets d'or, perces de gul.

17 Sr Nicholas de Clare, porte 3 cheurons de g, a la bordure endente de sab.

18 Sr William Fitz Temple, porte de g. frette d'or, a vne fesse d'argt.

19 Sr John de St Owen porte goules, vne Croix d'argent, o vne estruchon, en le quartel des armes de Gloucestre.

20 Sr Robert Boteuillain, d'argent, a trois crosses de goules.

21 Sr Robert Fitzpoyse, d'argent, fruste de sab, a vne label de g.

22 Sr Geffrey de Say, enarbrele d'or, et g.

23 Le Conte de Norfolk d'azur, a 6 lions d'or, o vne bende d'argent, o dous tressed d'or.

24 Sr Thibaud de Verdon, porte d'or, frete de goules.

Les Armes

Clare 1. Darcy 2. Worthington 3.

Tyrel 4. Pomeberay 5. Hamelton 6.

Argenton 7. Bekesford 8. Poynz 9.

Bellyng 10. Dynyn 11. Leyford 12.

Lovel 13. Clare 14. Wingeton 15.

St Amand 16. Clare 17. Fitzpayne 18.

St Owen 19. Boteuillain 20. Fytzpoyse 21.

Say 22. Bohun 23. Verdon 24.

Chapter One

WALTER AND THE TYRELLS OF POIX

FOR TWO CENTURIES before the Norman Conquest of England, the Norsemen from Scandinavia had been on the move, and during the ninth century their yearly raids devasted the coasts of Europe from Friesland in the north, to Spain and Morocco, and through the Mediterranean to Italy.

In 911 A.D. Rollo-Gange Rolf, of Danish or Norwegian lineage, and 'so tall that no horse could carry him', conquered the northern part of France and founded the Dukedom of Normandy, where the Scandinavians settled in possession of the land, assimilating the Frankish language and the continental feudal system. Rolf's great-granddaughter Emma was the wife of two English kings, first, Ethelred the Unready of the Saxon line, and, after his death, Canute the Dane. His great-great-grandson, Duke Robert the Magnificent, fathered on the daughter of a tanner of Falaise the bastard William, who succeeded him as Duke of Normandy and invaded England in 1066 to defeat Harold, the last of the Saxon kings.

The Norman knights who, with their retainers, supported William in his campaign were rewarded for their services by grants of land in the newly-conquered territory, displacing Saxon lords of the old regime. In order to avoid the reforming of large concentrated estates, with the attendant danger of these becoming semi-autonomous kingdoms, William deliberately allocated small holdings, scattered throughout the kingdom, to each of his barons who took an oath of allegiance and guaranteed to bring to the aid of the king, as and when required, men and weapons in proportion to their estates.

In the Domesday Survey of 1086 which lists for the king the power and resources of every shire, it is common to find one man holding several hundred 'manors' of the king, with minor knights as tenants in some or all of them. (The popular idea of a manor as a stately home surrounded by a large estate derives from the emparking and enclosure of post-medieval times, and bears no relation to the concept of a Domesday manor, which merely signified, in old French, a 'holding' of land, not necessarily lived on by the fee holder.) In this survey we meet with Walter Tirel holding the manor of 'Laingaham' (Langham) in Essex as tenant of Richard de Clare, and this gives us the first real documentary evidence of the family in England.

* * * * *

The Tyrells (the name, under its various spellings, is said[1] to be derived from old French 'Tirer', meaning therefore 'obstinate, stubborn'), as we shall see, had their family seat at Poix, a small town in Picardy some fifteen miles south-west of Amiens in northern France, beyond the borders of the Duchy of Normandy, and so the

Tyrells were 'Frenchmen' not 'Normans', such distinction being made in the case of several knights who assisted William in his campaign. By this time the descendants of the Scandinavian invaders had mostly taken French names, so it is not possible to determine whether the Tyrells came of Nordic or Frankish stock, though a reference to Walter Tyrell I in 1030,[2] stating that he was a close relation of Robert Duke of Normandy, must surely mean, if correct, that he was descended on one or other side of his family from the early Nordic rulers.

The earliest surviving record mentioning any Tyrell appears to be in 1030 in a Rouen cathedral charter, referring to '. . . Galtero Tyrello, domino de Piceio' (as a close relative of Robert Duke of Normandy). With this as a starting point, a 'genealogical history' of the French Tyrells down to the mid-19th century was compiled by Cuvillier-Morel D'Acy in 1869.[2] This work gives fairly circumstantial accounts of the early generations of Tyrells of Poix, but lacks proper references. It quotes private genealogical manuscripts of unrecorded date, without specifying the sources of their material. However, this French evidence should first be considered, and discarded only if proven to be incorrect or seen to be improbable in the light of known facts.

The Early Tyrells—according to Cuvillier-Morel D'Acy

First Generation: 1030, Walter I—possessed the lands of Poix, Bucy Croixrault, Equesnes, Famechon, Fremontiers, Moyencourt, etc. Named '. . . Galtero Tyrello domino de Piceio' in a charter of 1030, concerning the cathedral of Rouen, and said to be a close relative of Robert Duke of Normandy. He died towards 1068. Accompanied William of Normandy on his English expedition. (Ref.: 'The Pohiers' or men of Poix at the Battle of Hastings in poem by Robert Wace,[3] and the name of Tyrell in the Battle Abbey Roll.[4]) In 1046, together with his wife Alix, built the Fortress of Famechon as well as the castles of Poix and Moyencourt.[5] He married (1) Olga; (2) Alix[5] only daughter of Richard de Fremontiers and Famechon. Children: of (1) or (2), Walter II, who succeeded, Osmont.

Second Generation: 1068, Walter II—Sire de Poix, etc., mentioned in a charter of Amiens in 1069 as 'Gaulterus Gualteri Tirelli Natus'. In 1087 Walter made an agreement with the Count of Amiens.[5] Walter II had the misfortune to kill, during the hunt, William II, known as the Red, king of England, . . . (and continues with the story). He was profoundly affected by killing Rufus for whom he had a great liking, and to assuage his grief he went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land with Baudouin, his second son. He died before 1110.[4] By order of William the Conqueror he married Adelice Giffard.[6] . . . 'Adelidam filiam Ricardi de sublimi prosapia Gifardorum conjugem habuit'.[7] Children: Walter III, who succeeded, Baudouin, Robert, Raoul, Berine.

Third Generation: 1110, Walter III—Sire de Poix, etc. In 1116 with the consent of his wife and son Hugh founded the Priory of Saint Denis de Poix. In 1118 gave 'duas marcas argenti de decimae lavingaham'. In 1131 the same Walter re-founded the monastery of S. Pierre de Selincourt (In arvis et in deflexu monticuli fundata est ecclesia sancti Petri Selincurtis a Gualtero milite et domino de Piccio.[8]). He died

in 1145. Married: (1) Isabelle d'Heilly. ob. before 1120; (2) in 1121 Adeline de Ribecourt. ob. before 1128; (3) in 1128 Fide de Selincourt. Children: of (1) or (2) Hugh, who succeeded, Foulques, Baudouin, Vernon, Mathilde, Guillemette.

Fourth Generation: 1145, Hugh I—Knight, Sire de Poix, etc. Having succeeded his father in 1145, he confirmed the gifts to the abbey of Selincourt in the following year. Hugh Tyrel went on the crusade to the Holy Land,[7, 9] with other gentlemen of Picardy. He made his will in 1158, and was no longer living in 1159. In his will he gave to Adam his fourth son the land of Moyencourt.[5] Married: Ade d'Aumale. Children: Walter IV, Sire de Poix, etc., ob. towards 1171 s.p., Hugh II, who succeeded, Walter, Adam, Ade, Alix, Adeline.

Fifth Generation: 1159, Hugh II—Knight, Sire de Poix, etc. 1190 went on crusade with his five cousins, the sons of Baudouin. (N.B.—Only *four* sons are attributed to Baudouin, see Pedigree II.) He died in 1199. Married: (1) towards 1161, Isabelle de Wignacourt; (2) towards 1173, Marie de Senerpont. Children: Walter V, who succeeded, Hugh, 'who went to England where he established a branch the descendants of which apparently exist today'.[10] From this branch came Sir James Tyrell, English historian, 1642–1718, 'who made great and wise researches into the house of Tyrel'.[6] Other children: Firmin, Marie, Agnes.

At first glance this would seem to be perfectly acceptable as a pedigree of the early Tyrells, however poorly authenticated, but closer inspection reveals several weaknesses. If we set out the first four generations briefly, with only the important dates, we have:

Walter 1 first documented *1030* (Rouen Charter) at Hastings *1066* (d. *c.* 1068).

Walter 2 documented *1069*, Walter s. of Walter (Amiens Charter). Killed William Rufus *1100* (d. *c.* 1110).

Walter 3 documented with s. Hugh *1116*. '2 marks for Langham' *1118*. Selincourt Charter *1131* (d. *c.* 1145).

Hugh 1 journey to Holy Land *c. 1147* (d. *c.* 1158).

All the significant dates are italicised, i.e., those for which there is some reference. The more one looks at them the less plausible they appear. Walter 1, to be holding land, must have been at least 21 in 1030, which means that in 1066 he would have been in excess of 57 years, rather old to have fought at the Battle of Hastings, though not impossible. In 1069, we find Walter, son of Walter (Walter 2 above) who again must have been over 21 at that time and, because of his father's age, more likely to have been at least in his thirties. He would thus be no less than 52—and probably in his sixties—in 1100, and therefore an unlikely hunting companion for the 44-year-old King William. Continuing the line, Walter 3 should, logically, have been born between 1070 and 1080 when his father was in his third decade. He would, on this basis, be the Walter of the Selincourt Charter in 1131, aged 50 to 60, and died aged 75 in 1145.

So far, the pedigree is possible, if highly improbable. However, it ceases to be tenable when taken a stage further with Hugh 1, son of Walter 3. Morel D'Acy states he succeeded his father in 1145, then continues that 'he went on the crusade to the

Holy Land', producing Orderic Vitalis and Versailles Museum as evidence. By stretching possibility to the utmost for these four generations, and making Hugh just old enough, at 21, to participate in the charter of 1116 with his father, he would still be a minimum of 52 at the Second Crusade in 1147. Even assuming that such an advanced age was not a deterrent to Hugh in his arduous trip, the evidence offered in support of the statement does not substantiate it.

First, Versailles. 'Les Armoiries de Hugues Tyrel, sire de Poix, figurent effectivement dans la décoration de la cinquième salle des Croisades, avec la date de 1133.'[11] If this date signifies the time of his activities in the Holy Land, it is well before the Second Crusade, and suggests that he might have been involved in the Norman kingdom of Syria.

Second and conclusively, the writings of Orderic Vitalis cease with the year 1141/2, so that he could *not* have recorded Hugh as going on the Second Crusade some five years later, and if Hugh the 'strenuissimus miles' of Orderic did in fact go crusading at all it must have been on the first one in 1098/9. By making Hugh old enough to be at the capture of Jerusalem at the end of the 11th century, even if only in his late 'teens, his birth must be put back into the 1080s, at which time his father was only a child, according to the stretched pedigree above. Clearly this is absurd, and demolishes the whole proposed line of Walters.

The position may be clarified somewhat with evidence additonal to that given by Morel D'Acy. Briefly, this consists of:

(i) 'Langaham tenet Walterus Tirel de R quod tenuit . . ., etc.'—(entry from 'Domesday Survey' 1086).

(ii) 'Adelidam filiam Ricardi de sublimi prosapia Gifardorum conjugem habuit,—Quae Hugonem de Pice, strenuissimum militem, marito suo peperit.'—(Orderic Vitalis: an English monk at St. Evreul in Normandy, who was contemporary with both Walter and Hugh.)

(iii) 'Adeliz uxor Walteri Tirelli, reddit compotum de X marcis argenti de eidem placitis de Lavingeham.'—(Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. 1, 1130.)

(iv) Hugh Tirel, in 1138, granted to the Abbey of Bec, 'decem marcas argenti in manerio quod dicitur Lavingaham'—(Cal. Docs. France). [Note on Bec. Apart from the grant to the Abbey of Bec mentioned above, there occurs in the 12th-century chronicle (Abbot Simon: Chartularium Sithiense) a reference to Walter Tirell as 'a Waltero de Bekam'. This Round[12] states he is unable to explain, and after quoting from the Cartulary of Hesdin that Walter Tirrel and his son Hugh . . . granted freedom from toll 'apud Belram', he asks 'could "Bekam" possibly be a misprint for "Belram" (Beaurain)?' Surely it is equally possible that 'Belram' might in fact be a copying error for 'Bekram', in which case these two cartularies might indicate that the lords of Langham and Poix had a 'manor' or holding at Bec.]

(v) Hugh Tirel sold the manor of Langham between 1146 and 1148.—(Hatton's Book of Seals.)

From the writings of Orderic Vitalis [(ii) above] concerning Walter Tyrel the reputed slayer of William Rufus, we see that his wife was Adelice and he had a son Hugh. These facts are quite at variance with the Morel D'Acy pedigree in which Walter 2 (the regicide) married Adelice Giffard but has no son Hugh, whereas Hugh

appears as son of Walter 3 by his *first wife,* Isabelle (Hugh is mentioned in an agreement of 1116, and Walter married for the *second* time in 1121). It was first suggested by Round that Adelice was *not* the daughter of Richard Giffard, as had previously been supposed, but of Richard de Clare, and he refers to the Domesday entry and Pipe Roll [(i) and (iii) above] as supportive evidence. Round avers that 'there is no trace of a Richard Giffard, nor can "Adelida" herself be identified among the Giffards', and concludes that Adelice was the daughter of Richard de Clare by his wife Rohese, who was the daughter of Walter Giffard the elder, standard bearer of Duke William at the Battle of Hastings. 'The status of the mighty family of Clare was such that she was sufficiently described as "Adelida filia Ricardi", just as her brothers were known as "Gilbertus filius Ricardi", "Rogerus filius Richardi", etc., and the family was known collectively as the "Richardi" or "Richardenses" . . .'.[12]

This identification of Adelice as the daughter of Richard de Clare is confirmed by Michael Maclagan of Trinity College, Oxford, probably the foremost modern authority on the early Clares.[13]Thus, Walter Tyrell the regicide was the son-in-law of Richard de Clare, among whose estates at Domesday was Langham in Essex, held of him in 1086 by a Walter Tyrell, the suggestion being that Richard settled it on his daughter Adelice on the occasion of her marriage to Walter.

Morel D'Acy gives the death of Walter 3 as 1145, and states that 'the same Walter refounded St. Pierre de Selincourt in 1131'.[8] It is difficult to harmonise this with the Pipe Roll (iii) which must mean that he had died before 1130, as it shows Adelice answering for Langham in that year, presumably as Walter's widow. If both documents are correct, only one interpretation can be placed upon them, namely that Walter 3 was dead by 1130 and *another* Walter was Lord of Poix in 1131; a corollary to this must be that Hugh was also dead in 1131. The charter dated at Poix in 1138, wherein Hugh Tirel granted an annual rent charge of 10 marks from the manor of Langham to . . . the abbey of Bec and the monks at Conflans 'for the soul of his mother who there took the religious dress and there died', should therefore be attributed to a later Hugh, probably the one whom we know to have joined the Second Crusade.

Here the evidence is much stronger. Two charters,[14] which can be dated to the years between 1146 and 1148, record the sale of the Manor of Langham to raise 100 marks for Hugh's journey to Jerusalem, and a letter from Louis VII of France to Odo, Bishop of Beauvais, records that Hugh Tirel actually went on crusade in 1147.

One further matter should be mentioned here: the parentage of Walter the regicide. Orderic Vitalis has been quoted as saying that Walter was the youngest of eight sons of Fulk, Dean of Evreux, 'cognomento Tirellis', and Freeman accepted this as his parentage.[15] Round argues, however, that 'closer investigation suggests that Orderic in no way identifies the Walter Tyrel of 1100 with the son of Dean Fulk, and shows indeed that his French editors had specially declared the two to be distinct. In short, Walter had nothing to do with Dean Fulk, or with Normandy, but was, as categorically stated, a Frenchman, the third of his name who occurs as Lord of Poix.'[12]

In the light of all the foregoing comments and discussion, a revised pedigree can be constructed which more happily reconciles the dates with the reputed activities of the *dramatis personae,* viz.:

Walter 1 1030 charter. ? born *c.* 1000–1010. ? died.

Walter 2 1066 Hastings. 'Son of Walter' 1068. ? born *c.* 1030–40, making him 26–36 at Hastings. Died before 1086, and succeeded by

Walter 3 'regicide'. 1086 Domesday. 1100 kills Rufus. Charters of 1116 and 1118. ? born *c.* 1060, thus old enough to hold land in 1086, and be slightly younger than William Rufus, a more plausible companion of 1100. ? married 1080–85 Adelice de Clare. May have died soon after charter of 1118, and was succeeded by

Hugh 1 ? First Crusade 1098/0. Charter 1116. ? born *c.* 1080, and died before 1130, succeeded by ? son

Walter 4 1131 charter. ? born *c.* 1100–05. ? d. in 1130s and succeeded by ? brother

Hugh 2 1139 Charter. 1147 Second Crusade. ? born 1105–10. ? died.

It is barely possible from the suggested dates for Hugh 2 to be the son of Walter 4 who could hardly be old enough to sire him in time for Hugh to attain his majority by 1139. In this unlikely event, his mother would still be a relatively young woman, not having already retired to a monastery and died. On balance, therefore, the best arrangement is for Hugh 2 to be brother of Walter 4 and another son of Hugh 1.

The Death of William Rufus

Walter 3's marriage into the powerful family of Clare, who were related to the Norman monarchy, is of considerable significance, and no doubt brought him preferment at court and a close relationship with King William whom he was destined to slay, as tradition relates, on a hunt in the New Forest.

The death of Rufus has long remained one of the unexplained mysteries of English history. Was it an accident, was he murdered, or was he a sacrificial victim?

(1) He has been identified, by some, as the 'sacred king' of antiquity who originally held office annually as consort of the goddess, and was ritually murdered at midsummer as a scapegoat for the people by his 12 'merrymen' followers, who eucharistically partook of the body and blood of the god. This would seem a somewhat far-fetched explanation of the death of Rufus, who did not die at midsummer, and is probably worth mentioning only to discard it as a tenable theory. The only likely connection with primitive rites was surely an unintentional one: Robert Graves in *The White Goddess* (London, 1948), states, 'Lammas was observed as a mourning feast in most parts of England in mediaeval times; which accounts for the extraordinary popular demonstrations when William Rufus's body was brought up from the New Forest for burial. The peasants were bewailing a mythical Lugh [hence Lugh mass or Lammas] when along came the body of their own red-headed tyrant, laid on a harvest-cart'.

(2) The second possibility is that he was murdered—either as an act of private vengeance, or, in the furtherance of political ambition, by the hand of a hired assassin; both tenable propositions in the light of the contemporary scene. Before his death in 1087 William the Conqueror had settled the English crown on his second son William in preference to Robert the first-born, to whom he left the Dukedom of Normandy. This led to partisanship among the barons who held land in both countries and now owed allegiance to two sovereign lords.

'Rufus was not without valour or glimmerings of chivalry, but perfidious to his equals, oppressive to his subjects, contemptuous of religion; with no sense of his responsibilities, and determined to exact the last farthing of his rights. The baronage took up arms for Robert in the name of the hereditary principle, but with the secret design of substituting a weak and indolent for a ruthless and energetic sovereign.'[16] The king then, with promises of good laws and the abolition of unjust taxes, enlisted the aid of the native English to defend himself against his Norman barons but, as the promises were never fulfilled, disenchantment set in, and one can only speculate upon the outcome if events had not been overtaken by his sudden death.

No doubt many individuals had a variety of personal reasons for his killing, but as no-one has been incriminated it seems that this motive could be discarded. The first name with a political interest in his removal is, of course, Robert, Duke of Normandy, who has been suggested as a possible author of an assassination, but in an era when it was important to be in the right place at the right time to take advantage of the situation, it is inconceivable that Robert would have arranged for his brother to be killed while he himself was away on a crusade. The other candidate to be considered is Henry, William's younger brother, who was with the Royal party in the New Forest at the time. 'There is no proof that he was implicated in the death of his brother, but he certainly wasted no time in mourning. He made straight for the royal treasury at Winchester, and gained possession of it after sharp argument with its custodians.'[17]

Gilbert and Roger de Clare, Walter Tyrel's brothers-in-law, were also present with the party when the king was killed, and Henry on his accession appointed Richard, another brother-in-law, to be Abbot of Ely, and William Giffard of the same family circle to the See of Winchester. The de Clares were in constant attendance at Henry's court, and one of his favourites was Eudo Dapifer, whose wife was a de Clare. If the death of King William was a premeditated act, there is strong circumstancial evidence to point an accusing finger at Henry, but no suggestion of his complicity in the affair occurs in contemporary writings, which would surely have commented on a fratricide and regicide if the manner of Rufus's death had been suspicious.

(3) The third possibility, that Rufus met his death by accident, offers the most probable explanation. In this context Walter Tirel has gained an immemorial place in English history as his accidental slayer, though there is conflicting evidence connecting him with the accident.

The traditional account of the episode is inscribed on the 'Rufus Stone' in the New Forest:

N.E. Face.

> Here stood the oak tree on which an arrow shot by Sir Walter Tyrell at a stag glanced and struck King William the second, surnamed Rufus, on the breast of which he instantly died on the second day of August Anno 1100.

W. face.

> King William the second surnamed Rufus being slain, as before related was laid in a cart, belonging to one Purkis, and drawn from hence, to Winchester, and buried in the Cathedral Church of that city.

S. face.

> That the spot where an event so memorable might not hereafter be forgotten, the inclosed stone was set up by John Lord Delavere who had seen the tree growing in this place.

This stone having been much mutilated, and the inscriptions of each of its three sides defaced, this more durable memorial with the original inscriptions, was erected in the year 1841, by William Sturges Bourne, Warden.

A study of all the early writers and chroniclers produces more details, often conflicting, of the events leading to the king's death. If the accepted version is anything like true, then the only person able to give a true account would be Walter Tirel himself, who fled the country immediately afterwards, and whose only recorded utterance on the subject—made many years afterwards when he had nothing to lose or gain—was to swear that on the day of the king's death he was not in the same part of the wood.[18]

The customary portents which apparently preceeded any disaster in antiquity were not absent on this occasion—blood was seen bubbling from the ground in Berkshire on Whit Monday[19]—and a monk of Gloucester had a dream 'in which the Holy Church was seen calling on her Lord for vengeance on the evil deeds of the King of the English',[7] while William himself spent a restless night troubled by bad dreams.[20, 21] Before the hunt, a smith offered six new 'catapults' or arrows to the king who kept four himself and gave two to Walter Tirel ('justium est, ut illi acutissimae dentur sagittae, qui lethiferos inde noverit ictus infigere').[7] Giraldus Cambrensis, recording virtually the same story, referred to the monk's vision as seen at Dunstable which had not yet (in 1100) been founded. He also tells of a man bringing arrows to the king (five in this version), who gave them, not to Walter Tirel, but to Ralph of Aix who subsequently shot William.

When the hunt moved off into the forest, the king kept with Walter Tirrell; together with a few companions says Orderic and Geoffrey of Gaimar, but 'solus cum eo (Walterio) remanserat' states William of Malmesbury. The last statement is repeated by Benoît de Sainte More, who relates that Walter shot at a stag near the king, 'the devil guides the barbed arrow so that it glances from a bough, and pierces the king near the heart. He has just strength enough to bid the knight to flee for his life'. William of Malmesbury states that Tyrell aimed at a stag, missed it and struck the king. Walter found him and took to flight. Orderic records that a stag came between them, Walter shot, and his arrow flew over the stag's back and pierced the king.

Even supposing the death of the king in the New Forest to have been a complete accident, it appears that there had been a plot by certain nobles to slay him in a wood some years previously. Gilbert de Clare, brother-in-law of Walter Tirel, who had been in open rebellion in 1088, confessed to the king on the march to Bamburgh (1095) that he himself was one of a body who had plotted the king's death, and informed him of their number and names.[7] We have already noted that this same Gilbert was with the king's party at Brockenhurst on 2 August 1100.

The Tomb of Rufus

The dead king was taken up and buried in the old minster at Winchester. Accounts are at variance. The more likely and generally accepted version is given by Orderic and William of Malmesbury. At the death of the king, the nobles hastened to their homes to guard themselves against trouble, leaving the corpse to be gathered up by a few local churls and brought to the gates of Winchester on a rustic wain. It seems that a 'popular excommunication' of the hated tyrant was made and the body 'was

laid with all speed in a grave beneath the central tower' of the old minster. 'No bell was rung, no mass was said; no offerings made for the soul which was deemed to have passed beyond even the reach of eternal mercy'. In 1107 'the tower under which he lay crumbled and fell; men said it fell because so foul a corpse lay beneath it'.[15]

A footnote to this story is supplied by a paragraph in a newspaper cutting among the Rev. William Tirrell's papers ('Home Words', February 1959, C. G. Slade). This reads:

> Before the High Altar of Winchester Cathedral is a plain tomb which tradition confirms is of William Rufus. It was opened in 1868, and within was found the broken skeleton of a short, thick-set man of middle years, fragments of gold braid of Norman pattern, and the small turquoise and ivory head of a wand carved in the shape of a Griffin. More remarkable were some pieces of wood and two small triangular pieces of iron, which when fitted together made an iron tipped shaft nearly a yard in length, possibly the arrow that killed the hated Red King while hunting in the New Forest in 1100. He had obviously been buried hastily, the fatal shaft still in his side.

This account leaves little room for doubt about the contents of the tomb opened in 1868, but further enquiry reveals that it is not consistent with the historic record. There is no definitive version of the story of the last remains of this unfortunate king, and both the Hampshire County Archives and the Winchester Cathedral Archives admit to uncertainty about the 'Rufus tomb'[22]

In Winchester cathedral are a number of 'mortuary chests', containing the bones of kings, queens and bishops. In 1592 it was related by the antiquarian John Stowe that the remains of William Rufus had been removed from his tomb and placed in such a chest in 1525, with the inscription upon it 'Hic jacent ossa Cnutonis et Willelmi Rufi'.

Then, during the Civil War, the cathedral suffered great and sacrilegious vandalism:[3]

> It is related that the soldiers of the Parliament, when they were masters of the city, ransacked these chests, and scattered the bones about the Cathedral. The latest inscription on the third and fourth chests, given above, refers to this, but erroneously assigns the sacrilege to 1642 instead of 1648'.[23]

The inscription referred to records that the mixed bones of princes and bishops were replaced in chests in 1661; and the one described above as containing the bones of Canute and Rufus now also held remains of Queen Emma and of two bishops, according to a new inscription upon it.

On the face of it a clear enough story, but Gale, writing in 1715, and giving this story of the chests, also referred to 'a raised monument of greyish marble, in which lay interred William Rufus, before it was broken open and rifled in the late rebellion', which seems inconsistent with the business of the mortuary chests. Furthermore, a list of tombs and monuments in the Cathedral in 1683 mentions the 'tomb of King Rufus'. The most likely explanation appears to be that the bones of Rufus were indeed in the mortuary chests, but from which tomb they were removed is doubtful. The Rev. J. G. Joyce, who published a report on the subject after the opening of the so-called 'Rufus tomb' in 1868 questioned the age of the coffin and postulated its dating from Saxon times, it thus being unconnected with Rufus.

From the evidence here adduced, it would appear that the account on the Rufus Stone is probably more or less correct, except for the naming of 'one Purkis'. Freeman,

commenting on 'Purkis . . . who brought in the body'—as related by Sir Francis Palgrave—forcibly avers that 'in inventing legends it is at least better to invent legends which are possible. If anyone chooses to say that the cart was driven by Godwine or Aethelstan, we can not say that it was not'.[15] But not Purkis. We must leave the last word to Freeman:

> There is nothing in the received tale which is in the least unlikely; but it is the kind of tale which, even if untrue, might easily grow up. William may have died by accident by the hand of Walter Tirel or of any other. He may also have died by treason by the hand of Walter Tirel or of any other. In this last case there were many reasons why the received tale should be invented or adopted. It was just such a story as was wanted in such a case. It satisfied curiosity by naming a particular actor, while it named an actor who was out of reach, and it did not charge even him with any real guilt. . . . The real wonder is, not that the shaft struck him in the 13th. year of his reign, but that no hand had stricken him long before.[15]

Chapter Two

THE MISSING PERIOD; DISCUSSION

IT WAS NOT UNTIL SOMETIME in the 14th century that the Tyrells became established in Essex. There is thus a gap of over one hundred and fifty years, from *c.* 1146, when Hugh sold Langham, until 1304, when records show the presence in the county of a James Tyrell. The subsequent three or four generations are none too clear, but there is evidence of continuing connection from thence onwards. For the moment, however, we are concerned with the years in between, when there are no references to Tyrells in Essex, and there is no clear indication of the origins of James and the subsequent family of Heron. This is not to say that there were no Tyrells in England during the period; sparse documentation of the 12th and 13th centuries produces many names scattered throughout at least a dozen shires, but the name James does not appear at any time or place. Thus, with no tradition of this name in any branch, nor a James conveniently available elsewhere at the end of the 13th century, there is a complete absence of any candidate for the founding of the Essex connection.

'Traditional' Pedigrees

The situation, unfortunately, has been confused by a variety of pedigrees, all largely imaginary and undocumented, purporting to show descent from Walter Tyrel, the slayer of King William Rufus, and it is therefore necessary to refer to these and point out their shortcomings and anomalies before presenting the facts and assessing the possibilities. It is convenient that these lists are all in agreement after the appearance of James, from which time there is reasonable substantiation of a succession of Tyrells in Essex. Thus, the limits for the pedigrees of this doubtful period can be set fairly closely between the death of Walter (? the regicide), *c.* 1120–30, and the first record of James in 1304. In the following table are contained three different versions of the supposed generations linking Walter and James, set against a time scale allotting 25 years to each generation.

	1	2	3
1100–25	Walter (a)	Walter 3 (a)	Walter 3 (a)
1125–50	Henry (b)	Hugh 1 (e)	Hugh 1 (c)
1150–75	Richard (d)	Hugh 2 (e)	Hugh 2 (e)
1175–00	Edward (f)	Hugh 3 (g)	Roger (h)
1200–25	Geoffrey (i)	Hugh (j)	Edward (k)
1225–50	Lionel (l)	Hugh (m)	Galfrid (n)
1250–75	Edward (o)	James (q)	Edward (o)
1275–00	Hugh (p)		Hugh (p)
1300–25	James (q)		James (q)

Pedigree 1

This is the succession of 'knights in every generation' given by Morant[1] and Burke[2] which derives from the Tudor Heralds on their Visitations. It is scarcely necessary to dilate upon the manifest inaccuracies of Burke whose works were stigmatised as early as 1865 as 'utterly worthless',[3] since the culprits in this instance were the unscrupulous heralds. At a time when a passion for ancestry had developed among the lesser nobility and gentry—resulting from a considerable number of 'new members' to the class under the Tudor monarchs—the difficulties inherent in the search for a true genealogy, or the admission of its absence, were frequently ignored, and the temptation of financial gain resulted in the issue of dubious if not dishonest pedigrees. In the complete absence of evidence to corroborate these generations it is inadvisable to accept this as a reliable historical record of the family during these two centuries; but there is the possibility that some or all of these names derive from family tradition.

It is enlightening to glance at the notes by Burke and Morant on the last two generations of this pedigree, viz., 'Sir Hugh and his son Sir James'. Both relate that Hugh defended Carisbrooke Castle against the French in 1366 or 1378, and Morant adds that James married Margaret Heron in the reign of Edward II or III. Although this latter date covers the years 1307 to 1377, it is clearly impossible to relate this marriage and his 'father's' activities at Carisbrooke with the fact that James occurs in Essex documents in 1304. To be holding land he must have been at least 21 at that time, and possibly his marriage to Margaret could have occurred a few years later (the 1304 document gives his wife's name as Alice), but this would mean that his father, in 1377, must have been approaching the age of 120—a doughty warrior indeed!

Pedigrees 2 and 3 commence with the 12th-century generations of Tyrels and their main possessions in Picardy, as given by Cuvillier-Morel-D'Acy, who states that Hugh (3) 'went to England (*c.* 1200) where he established the branch from which came Sir James Tyrell, English historian, 1647–1718'. Since this Sir James—of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire—was descended (as will be seen later) from the Essex family, the logical inference is that the earlier James, as the first documented one of that line, derived his ancestry from these Walters and Hughs. Although the Morel-D'Acy pedigree takes us only as far as about 1200, it is immediately apparent that it bears no relationship to the one previously listed.

Pedigree 2

Assuming the early generations of Morel-D'Acy and extending the line down to Essex is the pedigree given by Roy Lee Terrell,[4] wherein Hugh 3 is succeeded by son Hugh, grandson Hugh and great-grandson James. Apart from the observations above concerning James as son of Hugh of Carisbrooke, there are surely insufficient generations here to span the whole of the 13th century, so it would seem reasonable to dismiss this pedigree as unlikely.

Pedigree 3

This family tree by Edwin H. Terrell,[5] incorporating statements made by Joseph H. Terrell,[6] is virtually an amalgam of Morel-D'Acy's earlier generations and the latter

half of No. 1, with a few slight alterations. It repeats the last six generations of No. 1, from Edward (Galfrid is just the latinised form of Geoffrey), omitting the unlikely Lionel. It can only be surmised that as a fourth generation was introduced before Edward, the unfortunate Lionel was relegated to make the pedigree conform to the same time-scale. But why Roger? Morel-D'Acy's first three generations are accepted without question, but not his Hugh (3) who 'went to England, *c.* 1200', and founded the line of English Tyrells! Presumably because Joseph Tyrell had discovered from Irish pedigrees that there were others bearing the family name recorded before that date. We will study this Irish 'evidence' more closely later, but it will suffice now to relate that the Irish line of Tyrrells is reputed to commence with Hugh, *c.* 1170, who was succeeded by his son, Richard. Joseph Tyrrell equates this Hugh with Morel-D'acy's Hugh 2, allows a son Richard to inherit the Irish property (as in the Irish pedigree, but not mentioned by Morel-D'Acy), and conjures up another son (featuring in neither source), Roger of Hampshire, whom Edwin Terrell states 'succeeded to the vast possessions of his father in Hampshire and in Essex and became the ancestor of all the English branches of the family'. There seems to be little or no truth in this statement:

(a) The Hugh Tyrell who held land in Kingsworthy, Hants., as shown in the Pipe Rolls from 1158 to 1166, was succeeded there by his son Geoffrey. The suggestion of this, in the Roll of 1165/6, where Geoffrey is entered and then deleted in favour of Hugh the previous holder, is made implicit by the evidence in a legal dispute of 1220 concerning the Manor of Kingsworthy, wherein is stated that Hugh was succeeded by his son and heir Geoffrey.[7]

(b) Apart from the mention of a Reginald Tyrell in an Essex court case in 1201,[8] the only recorded family connection with the county that I can find occurs in 1235/36, when a Thomas Tyrel holds a fee of 40d. in 'Essex and Hertfordshire'.[9] It is not clear whether this was the same Thomas who held manors in the adjacent county of Bedford in the 1240s and died in 1264—if so, he is from a different and discernible line—or whether he can be equated with a Thomas who died in 1240 holding land in Sussex and Catherington, Hampshire. This latter Thomas was the successor in Catherington to a Roger, possibly his father, who is recorded in 1199 granting a toft in Catherington.[10]

(c) It is not therefore possible to constitute the pedigree by using 'Roger of Hampshire', who was evidently not the son and heir of Hugh, and whose own heir was Thomas, not Edward. A possible family line for the Tyrells connected with Hampshire could be:

Hugh	1158–1166	Kingsworthy
s.		
Geoffrey	1167– ?	,,
Roger	1199	Catherington
? s.		
Thomas	? d. 1240	,,

(d) As for Roger being the 'ancestor of all the English branches of the family', there are on record some fifteen or sixteen other Tyrells at the turn of the century, not to mention several referred to in previous years.

Brief reasons have been produced for not accepting any of the 'traditional' pedigrees as historically accurate. In a time when documentation is sparse, it is impossible to maintain that a particular 'Tom, Dick or Harry' did not exist for want of a reference to him, but it is also unwarranted to state categorically that he did exist without some supportive evidence. The probability, or even possibility, of each of the names in these pedigrees should therefore be tested as recorded names of the appropriate period, irrespective of their association with property or connection one with another. (For easier reference these are each lettered in the foregoing chart of pedigrees—the same letter being used more than once where there is unarguable agreement.)

(a) Walter who occurs as the progenitor of each line is already firmly enough documented.
(b) Henry. No trace of this name occurs until 1199, which is too far removed from his alloted generation to make the identification plausible.
(c) Hugh 1, previously mentioned as son of Walter.
(d) Richard. The first to beat this name is not found until 1201, somewhat after his probable time, but allowing him as a possible.
(e) Hugh 2. There is definite evidence of a Hugh in Hampshire from 1158 to 1166, which tallies well with his suggested dates.
(f) Edward. I have been unable to trace anyone of this name throughout the whole period under review.
(g) Hugh (3). The name Hugh occurs frequently enough to be fitted into any generation.
(h) Roger. As previously mentioned, one of this name appears in 1199.
(i) Geoffrey, son of Hugh of Hampshire, has been discussed previously, as succeeding his father, probably *c.* 1170; therefore a possibility, though rather 'out of his time'.
(j) Hugh. See (g).
(k) Edward. See (f).
(l) Lionel. There is no trace of anyone bearing this name.
(m) Hugh. See (g).
(n) Galfrid. This is probably intended to be the same as Geoffrey (i) in pedigree 1, the son of Edward, but in this case he appears too late in the day for credibility as the son of Hugh of Hampshire.
(o) See (f) and (k).
(p) Hugh. See (g).
(q) James, in pedigrees 1 and 3, ends up in the right place, but in No. 2 falls too short for lack of earlier generations, as discussed above.

Demolition is considerably easier than construction, but there are cogent reasons for taking this course. Having eliminated as improbable many of the names listed in the 'traditional' pedigrees, it would be a relatively simple matter to consolidate the remainder into a family tree composed of persons who could be said to have existed at the right time. This could make a reasonable pedigree only if some continuity of connection could be demonstrated between property or place and the successive names. Even assuming this could be done, by ignoring all the other people whose names occur during the period, it would again be begging the question, and thus

the only course consistent with historical honesty is to commence with a clean slate, and study the evidence to make of it what we can.

Christian Names of Early Tyrells

The 38 separate names listed below have all been found for the period 1150 to 1450, and are mentioned in the counties of England as shown in maps 3, 4 and 5. Other names occur in the Irish family, and these are shown in the section on Ireland. Against these names are given the main dates at which they are found, and the counties in which they are holding land or office. In some cases the wide difference in dates indicates two or more men of the same name, and in others this can be inferred or deduced from the evidence. In parentheses are given the probable total per name, though this is a conservative estimate. It will be seen that approximately 120 men bore these 38 names during the period, but we are possibly seeing only the tip of the iceberg—the higher echelons, as it were, of the pyramid of feudal structure and society—with the submerged majority being lost for want of reference to them.

To complete the 12th-century picture, two other names are included: Hugh (the Crusader), 1130 to 1146, and another early Tyrell—Rocelin—who occurs in 1127, though of uncertain provenance.

Key to counties: Bd., Bedfordshire; Be., Berkshire; Ca., Cambridgeshire; Co., Cornwall; Cu., Cumberland; De., Devonshire; Do., Dorsetshire; Ess., Essex; Gl., Gloucestershire; Ha., Hampshire; He., Herefordshire; Ht., Hertfordshire; Hu., Huntingdonshire; K., Kent; La., Lancashire; Li., Lincolnshire; Mx., Middlesex; Nf., Norfolk; Nt., Northamptonshire; Nb., Northumberland; Ox., Oxfordshire; Sa., Shropshire; So., Somersetshire; St., Staffordshire; Sf., Suffolk; Su., Surrey; Sx., Sussex; We., Westmorland; Wt., Wiltshire; Wo., Worcestershire; Y., Yorkshire.

Adam (2)—Y. 1160. La. 1330.
Alexander (3)—Nf. and Sf. 1167. La. 1328. Co. 1371.
Andrew (1)—Y. 1150-1170; 1180-1200.
Baldwin (2)—Y. 1188-91. He. 1204. Co. 1214. Li. 1231.
Bartholomew (2)—Y. 1262. Do., Bd., Gl., He., De. (Clerk) 1332-60.
Edward (1)—Ess. 1426-42; Ht. 1426, 1436.
Fulc (1)—St. 121.
Geoffrey (1)—Ha. 1220.
Gerald (1)—Ca. 1201.
Gilbert (1)—in Wales 1301, 1332.
Hamlet (1)—De. *c.* 1300.
Henry (de T.) (1)—We. 1265.
Herman (1)—Co. 1315.
Hervey (1)—De. 1318-47.
Hugh (5)—Ess. 1130, 1146. Ha. 1158-66. He. 1158, 66. Wo. 1182, 1201. He. 1200. Nf. 1287-1310. He., Sa., St., So., Do. 1328-43. He., Ha. 1363-80.
James (2)—Ess. 1305-45.
John (12)—Y. 1175-1220; 1250. La. 1272. De. 1292. Wo. 1314; 1342. Ha. 1314; 1336. Sx. 1331. Bd. 1331. Ess. 1333. Co. 1343. De. 1346. Do., So., St., Gl., He., Ha. 1341-60. Ess. 1362. Co. 1386-95. Do. 1381. Ess. 1408-37. Ht., 1413-28.

Jordan (1)—Sr. 1200.
Matthew (1)—De. 1339.
Odo(1)—He. 1166; 1200-08. Wo. 1194.
Peter (2)—Bd. 1244. Ha. 1304.
Phillip (1)—Y. 1160-80.
Ralph (5)—Y. 1180-1225. St. 1222. Be. 1224-6. Bd. 1230. Bd. 1264-1318. Co. 1343.
Randal (1)—1310.
Reginald (1)—Ess. 1400.
Richard (8)—He. 1204-21. Wo. 1208-13. Gl. 1223-42. Sa. 1220; 1246-59. Cu. (de T.) —1279. De. 1284. He. 1289-1316. Co. 1303; 1327; 1352; 1393. Sx. 1407-15.
Robert (8)—Hu. 1207. Sr. 1208. De. 1242. He. 1274. Bd. 1309. He. 1346. Do. 1349. So. 1360. We. (de T.)—1395. He. 1428.
Rocelin (2)—1127. He. 1166; 1200-08. Wo. 1201.
Roger (11)—Y. 1172-81. Gl. 1186. Ha. 1199. Do. 1200-26. Sx. 1212; 1229. Wo.1213. So. 1223-42. Ox. 1231. He. 1242; 1253-65. Sa. 1260-80. Gl. 1284. De. 1284. Sa. 1292. He., So., Do., Sa., Gl. 1297-1316. Sa. 1332-46.
Romund (1)—Y. 1221-43.
Simon (3)—Various 1201-22 (attorney). De., *c.* 1300; 1367.
Stephen (2)—Do. 1200-25. Sa. 1271.
Thomas (10)—Ess. 1235. Bd. 1235. Sx., Ha. 1240. Y. 1250. Bd. 1264. De. 1303. Bd. 1315. Co. 1332-46. Ess. 1342-82. Ess. 1432-44. Ess. 1449- . Ht. 1440.
Vivian (1)—Co. 1340.
Walter (5)—He. 1200. K. 1210-25. Sa. 1255. Ess. 1275; 1287. Ess. 1364-92. Nb. 1367-95. Ess. 1407.
Warin (1)—Nf., K. 1200.
William (11)—Nf. 1220. Sx. 1250. Ca. 1254. Y. 1262. So. 1269. De. 1276. Do. 1297. Co. 1303-27. La. 1330. Co. 1371. Mx. 1400-21. Nf. 1439.
Wynan (2)—Co. 1302-48.

Some idea of the distribution of Tyrells throughout England from 1150 to 1450 can be gained from maps 3, 4 and 5 where the symbols indicate the approximate number of separate male persons mentioned under each county for each century. It will thus be apparent that the main family groups in the earlier part were in: (a) the Welsh border counties of Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire; (b) Devon and Cornwall; (c) Yorkshire; (d) Bedfordshire.

In Essex, where the main historical line eventually became established, the population emphasis is toward the latter part of the period.

This chart can do no more than suggest areas of interest, and cannot be held to provide any quantitative assessment of Tyrells during these centuries. Several of those listed held land in two or more counties, which serves to inflate the totals, while a solitary mention of one name in one county does not necessarily mean either that this man did not hold land elsewhere, or that there were no other Tyrells in that particular area. For example, Kent (No. 41) scores three in the first century by virtue of one litigation in which the names of three generations of Tyrells happen to be mentioned. On the other hand, Northamptonshire (No. 20), Oxfordshire (No. 26), Berkshire (No. 28), and even Staffordshire (No. 13) could be said to be of little or no consequence in the scheme of things as they each occur only briefly and then in

connection with Tyrells from elsewhere, so that if these counties were shaded in with those showing a nil return there would be produced a 'no-man's land' extending down the middle of the country, and separating the areas of relative influence.

Source Material

Such records as are available are mostly concerned with the tenure of land, which was all owned by the king (to this day the crown nominally owns all freehold land) and was 'rented out' in return for certain services or payments. Thus, the grant of a manor by the king to a man whom he wished to reward for services rendered was entered in the rolls so that it was known from whom the dues were to be exacted. In the event of misdemeanour or disloyalty, these lands could be confiscated by the king, and on the death of a land-holder an 'inquisition post mortem' was held to record the extent of his domain, and who was his rightful heir. If the son was unquestionably over 21 years he was declared to be 'of age', and allowed to inherit, on payment to the crown of an 'admission fine'. Should there be any doubt as to whether he had attained his majority, another inquisition was ordered to 'take proof of his age', through the sworn statements of a number of men who had known him all his life.[11]

Other references occur in (a) legal disputes over the tenure of land, many of which are probably agreed transferences as at that time the only method of conveyance was by simulated litigation; (b) letters of respite, for the postponement of pleas, debts and royal levies, during absence in the king's service; (c) crown appointments to official positions, and (d) occasionally in the writings of contemporary chroniclers.

After the Domesday Survey of 1086, there is practically no crown material available until the end of the 12th century, and only a few charters throw any light on the people of the age. The vast majority of our recorded Tyrells are thus found during the second of the two centuries under review, in the now established series of royal rolls. This is regrettable, for it becomes virtually impossible to demonstrate a direct link from early Norman times. Absence of documentation means lack of names, but not necessarily an absence of Tyrells on English soil.

We can infer that Hugh, going on the Second Crusade in 1147, was a direct lineal descendant of Walter at the time of the Conquest, by his possession of the Manor of Langham in Essex, but his sale thereof on this occasion breaks the chain. I have previously suggested that there may have been others of the family (brothers or cousins to Walter) who came in search of fortune in the post-Conquest era, in which case during the following century their numbers could have increased almost a hundredfold.

Evidence for the continuing emigration from France comes from the Franco-Norman principalities of Syria and Palestine, which were carved out of the Moslem Empire in the early 12th century. Here we find more Tyrells, evidently firmly established, as the family holds a hereditary post as Marshal of Antioch; the names of Raymond, William, Simon, his brother, Bartholomew, Phillip, Thomas and another Bartholomew occur in succession to each other from 1140 to 1262, with mention of a Geoffrey at Jerusalem in 1184.[12] In this work just cited, its French author states that 'the majority of the feudatory barons in the principality were of Norman origin' and although admitting lack of proof concludes that 'it seems reasonable that most of them came from Southern Italy: and amongst these there were the

Tirels (of Picardy)'. A footnote in this book unfortunately contains an erroneous statement concerning the Tirels, and indicates the danger of accepting, and thereafter perpetuating, an error in a printed source. This reads' 'The first one known in Syria, "Guillaume", arrived there after 1131 and was doubtless the murderer of William Rufus'. Whether or not the 'kingslayer' was still alive in 1131 is a matter of doubt (see above), but the confusion between 'Walter' and 'William' is difficult to understand, as the Anglo-Norman writings all refer to 'Gautier' (or Gualterius), *not* 'Guillaume' (or Guillielmus). Curiously, Burke makes the same mistake in his 'General Armory' of 1884.

In 1040 A.D. the six sons of Tancred de Hauteville, a petty Norman knight, set about the task of making themselves masters of the southern half of Italy and of Sicily. Robert Guiscard, the eldest surviving son, became Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily in 1060, and his eldest son, Bohemond, Prince of Taranto, joined the First Crusade to create for himself a new kingdom in the Holy Land; and by devious means he achieved this aim with the principality of Antioch.[13] After the first successes of the crusaders, many younger sons left the lands of Christian Europe to seek their fortune in 'Outremer', so, although the Tirels of Antioch may have been among Bohemond's company from the beginning, they could have arrived there later, and come directly from Picardy, or from a branch already settled in Italy, or from an English branch. As the name Hugh does not feature in any reference, however, there is no direct connection between the early generations in England and the marshals of Antioch; neither do any of the names of these 'Syrian' Tirels coincide with those stated in Morel-D'Acy's pedigree to have gone to the Holy Land at this time.

The 'English' Tyrells

Early in the 12th century, if not before, one or more French Tirel settled on English soil to become the starting point of future generations of the family born and bred in England. The first of these to be recorded are Roscelin in 1127 and Fulc 'in the time of Henry I' (1100-1135), who could have been sons, brothers, or cousins of Walter the Regicide. It is not possible to continue their lines onward. The remainder of the 12th century produces only about ten names, and as several of them occur in the same county (Yorkshire) it is a reasonable supposition that this group belongs to the same family unit.

At the turn of the century, the position changes considerably, with the appearance in several places of a number of different Tyrels, following which references are fairly frequent if not always enlightening. Although the basis of any sort of wealth and position in society was the holding of land, the fixed hereditary estates of later centuries were not yet an established feature of life. Thus, in spite of finding many land holdings in connection with different persons it is very infrequent for the same lands to occur over a long period, which further complicates the problem of connecting names to form a family tree. However, there are a few definitely linked names, and by studying the recorded information throughout the 13th and well into the 14th century, it is possible to find clues suggesting further inter-connections between some of these groups. Broadly speaking, the 13th-century Tyrells appear to fall into four main geographically distinct sections: Ireland, Welsh border counties, south-western counties, and East Anglia, and subsequent chapters will look at these individually.

Chapter Three

IRELAND

WE REFERRED EARLIER to Irish sources as the presumed origin of part of one of the 'traditional' pedigrees. This is derived from the late 19th-century works entitled *Irish Landed Gentry* and *Irish Pedigrees*, by John O'Hart, but the pedigree given for the early Tyrels of Ireland is clearly incorrect. This states: 'Hugh Tyrrel was first Baron of Castleknock, Richard Tyrrel was second Baron temp. 1184 and his son Hugh the third Baron was seized of the Manor in 1310 . . .'. It does not require much imagination to doubt the plausibility of these last two generations, for even if Richard was only just 21 in 1184 it is stretching credibility fo find his son in possession 126 years later. In fact, there were at least four generations covering this period, as shown by the official records in the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland.*

Although these papers commence with the year 1171, there is no Tyrel mentioned before 1199, and Castleknock first appears in 1214 in the hands of Richard. This leaves us in some doubt concerning Hugh, but other sources help to fill in the gap. In his *Irish Pedigrees,* O'Hart quotes a 'fragment of Irish History by Maurice Regan'[1] stating that Hugh Tirrell was one of the early arrivals in Ireland, and this is borne out by Giraldus Cambrensis[2] who visited Ireland with Prince John in the mid 1280s. Giraldus relates that (*c.* 1174) 'Hugh Tyrell carried off to the town of Louth a great wagon, belonging to a community of priests, bringing down on himself the curse of them all. That same night his lodgings caught alight, and the two horses which had drawn the wagon perished in the fire which destroyed a great part of the town. The wagon, however, remained unscathed, and in the morning Hugh, moved to repentance, sent it back to Armagh. Whereupon the Bishop of Louth said of him, "This same year this wretch will undoubtedly suffer great misfortune, for never have so many tears been shed or curses called down by good men in vain". And before the year was out this was fulfilled, for a quarrel broke out between him and Hugh de Lacy, whereby nearly the whole realm was involved in trouble and violence'.

It would seem fairly certain that Hugh Tyrel obtained from Hugh de Lacy, in his Kingdom of Meath, the castles of Trim and Kells. These castles were built in stone 'such as no native attack could overthrow',[3] but an Irish source[4] relates that Hugh Tyrel under threat of attack by the King of Connaught (*c.* 1172-3) 'abandoned the castle [of Trim] and burned it', while Giraldus,[2] dealing with this invasion of Meath by the King of Connaught, remarks that 'the castles of Meath—namely at Trim and Kells—had been destroyed shortly after Hugh Tyrell yielded possession of them'.

James Tyrell in his *History of England* (1794-1704), relates an incident which does not seem to fit with the other facts concerning Hugh, such as they are. He states:

'A.D. MCLXXIV. So soon as Raymond entered the town [Waterford] he with his forces conducted the Earl to Wexford, leaving the government of Waterford to one Tyrrell; his christian name was Hugh, and he was ancestor to the Tyrrells of Ireland. But after this Earl's departure, the Ostmen of Waterford taking up arms, murther'd him, with many of his followers, and did the like to all the English they could find in the streets'.

James Tyrrell's system of referencing is obscure and this story is not corroborated by the chronicles of Giraldus nor the Dublin manuscripts. The action would appear to belong to the invasion of Meath by the King of Connaught, and to antedate Hugh's escapade of 1174 which Giraldus reported. What is more, if Hugh had been slain in 1174 it is inconceivable that Giraldus would have omitted to inform us of such a dire fulfilment of the Bishop of Louth's curse. The available evidence suggests, therefore, that Hugh did not die in 1174.

In none of this, however, is there mention of Castleknock. Curtis[3] states that de Lacy's enfeoffment of Meath 'created an English nobility which lasted almost to the Battle of the Boyne [1690]. Thus began the famous names of Tyrel of Fertullagh and Castleknock, and etc.'. It is not necessarily inherent in this statement that Castleknock came to the Tyrells in the earliest days. The only references connecting it with Hugh both come from O'Hart[4] where we find the conflicting statements that, on the one hand it was given to Hugh Tyrel by de Lacy and on the other by Strongbow, his 'intrinsic friend'. Elsewhere,[4] this author avers that Hugh Tyrell arrived in Ireland in 1184, and was identical with the 'Grecian Knight'. For lack of definite record, the exact arrival of Hugh in Ireland and his possessions there must remain in doubt, but it would appear that he arrived with, or shortly after, the invasion, and was connected with the castle of Trim and possibly Kells, though his 'Barony of Castleknock' is insufficiently substantiated.

Two descriptions (printed in parentheses) 'intrinsic friend' and 'Grecian Knight' demand further comment. Reproduced as they are in 'quotes', they must be taken from some other source of information, unfortunately not given.

Grecian Knight. This appellation, connected with the Hugh stated by the 'traditional' pedigrees as being at the Seige of Acre, has always intrigued and puzzled me. The Museum of Versailles deny any knowledge of this knight. After referring to the arms of Hugh in 1133, the communication continues: 'Mais c'est l'unique mention qui soit faite de ce personnage dans votre Musée, et nous n'avons pas la trace d'un autre Tyrel portant la même prénom.'[5] I have been unable to find any trace of the 'Grecian Knight' in other sources. It seems an unlikely soubriquet for an Anglo-Norman Crusader [whether Hugh of Ireland or Hugh of Acre (?)], to whom 'the Greeks' meant the subjects of the Byzantine Empire, who were regarded almost equally as enemies of the knights of western Christendom as were the Saracens.

This would tend rather to negative the idea of the name being acquired as a crusading honour, but no positive suggestion comes readily to mind to provide any alternative explanation.

Intrinsic friend. This should surely mean an exceedingly close friend and, unless inferring a homosexual attachment between Hugh Tyrel and Strongbow, must indicate a nearness in blood, and thus give reason to believe that Hugh was a direct descendant of Walter the kingslayer, whose wife, Adelice, was sister of Gilbert de Clare, the grandfather of Richard, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow).

Henry Tyrel. The first recorded Tyrel in the state papers concerning Ireland is a Henry, who, in 1199, received the king's pardon and had restored to him 'his land of Ireland with the serjeanty' (holding by some special service to the king). His forfeiture had evidently been due to his association with John de Courcy (the conqueror of Ulster) and Walter de Lacy (son of Hugh, of age in 1194), who had been in rebellion against the crown during the previous few years.[6] Further light is shed on this serjeanty by an entry in the Patent Rolls nearly one hundred and fifty years later. This is an inspection and confirmation of the original grant by Richard I 'to Henry Tyrel, his serjeant, for his service, of a carucate of land in Molloghume, and the whole serjeanty of the whole county of Dublin . . .' dated 21 June 1192.[7] Henry is again mentioned in 1215, in a letter to the justiciar (i.e., viceroy) of Ireland 'to cause Henry Tirel to have all the liberties of his serjeanty, according to the king's charter . . .';[8] then he disappeared from the scene, and the only other reference is in 1247 to 'the custody of the land and heir of Henry Tirel'.[9] From then until 1282 there are only two Tyrel mentions in the records. One is, in 1263, to a Robert Tyrel, probably of a Lancashire family, but at that date concerned with lands in Ireland.[10] A later document refers to ransom for the death of a Robert Tyrel at about this time.[11] The other occurs in 1248 in the *Annals of the Four Masters,* which states merely that John Tyrel was slain by Gilla-na-Naev O'Farrell. He might have been a son of Henry. There is no telling who was the heir of Henry, though it seems safe to say that he was not connected with Castleknock, which we find in other hands during and after Henry's lifetime.

Richard Tyrel, first mentioned in 1201 in a land grant,[12] was directed in January 1203/4 to hand over to the justiciar the castle of Louth, and in 1207 to be distrained 'to send to the King the hostage agreed on for the faithful service of Walter de Lacy'.[13] Castleknock received its first mention in 1214, when King John ordered it 'to be prostrated', and the justiciar to notify the king by whose authority the castle was delivered to Richard Tirel.[14] The first part of this order was evidently not carried out, as four years later King Henry sent his mandate to the justiciar 'to cause the castle to be levelled from the foundations'; referring to the previous order of King John 'to cause the castle to be levelled, as it was a nuisance to the king's city of Dublin'.[15] Once again, there must have been prevarication, as the following year (1219) the king gave his consent to revoke the order provided that 'Richard Tyrel gives good hostages that no injury shall arise to the king, the city of Dublin, or others from the castle of Knock, and Richard shall deliver that castle to the justiciar in case of war'.[16] In 1222 King Henry 'commanded Richard Tirel to deliver to the justiciary the castle and the vill of Cnoc, accepting therefore an exchange, . . . otherwise the king will cause the castle to be levelled',[17] but it seems that Richard died before this came about, as less than a year later we find the king has taken homage of Hugh Tyrel, the son and heir of Richard, who had been the hostage for his loyalty, and the castle of Cnoc was shortly afterwards granted to him, on condition that he handed it over if required in time of war.[18] (Plate 2.)

Hugh Tyrel. During the 15-year period from 1230 to 1245, references indicate that Hugh was fulfilling his knightly obligations to the king. In 1230 he was listed among various knights ordered to remain in Ireland during the absence of the justiciar and other knights,[19] two years later he was sent on the king's behalf to Ireland (in connection with the dower of the king's sister), indicating that he must at that time

have been in England and, doubtless as reward for his services, he was at the same time granted an annual fair lasting eight days at his Manor of Neweton in Fertullagh.[20] In 1235 he received, along with several other knights, a letter of thanks from Henry for 'remaining faithful to the King while others recede from their fealty'.[21] Ten years later he is ordered as seneschal of Ulster, 'to cause the king's castle of Carrickfergus and its building to be so maintained that they do not fall into ruin';[22] and a few weeks afterwards was commanded to relinquish his custodianship of the castle of Drogheda to the newly-appointed justiciary of Ireland.[23] No further mention occurs of Hugh, or anyone described as his son, but in 1252 a daughter, Beatrice, is recorded.[24]

After the last reference to Hugh in 1245, there is no mention of a Tyrel in the chronicles relating to Ireland for the next 37 years, except for retrospective mentions of Henry in 1247 and 1248, and a reference to a John in 1248.[25] From 1282 to 1295 there are records of a Geoffrey Tyrel (an extent of 1282 shows land held of him at Denloyth, Co. Kerry);[26] a John Tyrel (juror on an inquiry of 1282);[27] an Andrew Tyrel (juror on inquisitions 1283 and 1293, and an executor in 1295);[29] and a Richard (witness to a deed of 1291).[30]

In 1295 we find Hugh Tyrel answering for Castleknock[31] This connection continues yearly until 1298,[32] and Hugh is mentioned in 1299 (though not in this instance respecting Castleknock),[33] but in 1300 Richard Tyrel is linked with Castleknock, and again in 1301.[34] Hugh Tyrel died in 1299, holding of the king '60 carucates of land at Castle Cnok' (i.e., approximately 7,000 English statute acres, each of 4,480 square yards), and various other lands including 3 knight's fees held of Geoffrey de Geynevill in Trym. His heir was stated to be 'Richard aged 28 years, and married 13 years past'.[35]

The following year Richard, son of Hugh, was involved in litigation with Letitia, widow of Hugh. It was probably legalising a settlement of land on her as dower.[36] In 1302, licence to re-marry was granted to 'Letitia who was the wife of Hugh Tyrel'.[37] Also in 1300 Richard is shown to owe 105 marks (i.e., £70),[38] which he was evidently reluctant to pay, as two months later the sheriff was ordered to distrain 'all his goods (except plough cattle) and half his lands . . .' until the debt should be paid.[39]

Richard probably died *c.* 1331, as in 1330 there is reference to 'Hugh son of Richard Tyrel of Castleknock',[40] and in 1332 the king informed the justiciar of Ireland that Hugh had done fealty for his lands in Castleknock.[41] After this, there is an absence of material for several decades, the next reference being in 1364 to 'Hugh Tyrel, baron of Castleknock',[42] who in all probability was the same as the foregoing.

Gerald. In 1295 occurred the first mention of Gerald,[43] who reappeared in 1297, among a list of knights granted respite of pleas because they were 'going to the King in parts beyond the seas'.[44] He subsequently featured with his wife Mabina as plaintiffs against 'Emma widow of Richard Tyrel in 1299'.[45] In 1301 and 1302 he is described as the 'seneschal in Ireland' of Ralph Pypard,[46] and in 1302 both he and Richard received letters from the king intimating that they should prepare themselves to accompany him on campaign, stating that 'the truce granted to the Scotch is about to expire and the king wishes to be provided with a strong force of men at arms to proceed vigorously with the wars of Scotland',[47] and they are described as 'Fidelides of Ireland'.[48] Though his parentage is not anywhere stated, it seems likely that Gerald was the brother of Richard and another son of Hugh.

Richard and Emma. There was litigation in 1299 between Gerald and his wife Mabina, and Emma, 'the widow of Richard Tyrel'. This cannot be Richard, son of Hugh of Castleknock, but there are no further clues to his identity. The only other mention of this name is that of 1291 wherein he was witness to a deed relating to Dublin (v.s.). Could it be that he was father of Hugh of Castleknock, and therefore grandfather of Richard and Gerald? If so, he must have died before 1295 when Hugh answered for Castleknock. There is nothing improbable in a litigation between Gerald, son of Hugh, and his widowed grandmother Emma; the matter of dower is indeed specifically mentioned in one of the records. It would be gratifying to see another Richard of Castleknock occurring between the second and third Hughs to continue the scheme of names alternating in each generation. The evidence for this is weak, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The sons of Gerald. There is no trace of Gerald after 1306 when he occurs as 'minister of Ralph Pipard'[49] and as a juror,[50] but during these years several of his son appear. 'Roger son of Gerald Tyrel' occurs in 1302[51] as a co-defendant with Richard of Castleknock, which incidentally strengthens the supposition of a family link between Richard and Gerald. He is mentioned again in 1306 as an attorney in a court plea[52] and in 1311 it is related that he 'has been for some time in Scotland in the king's service with Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford and still remains with the said earl whom the king has appointed keeper of and to supply his place in that kingdom'.[53]

Roger, pursuing a knightly career, was evidently following in father's footsteps; Maurice, who was coupled with him as pledges in 1306[54] and is presumably the same as the 'Maurice son of Gerard' of 1330[55] (the names Gerard and Gerald appear interchangeable), seems to have led an exemplary if unnoteworthy life, though the same cannot be said for Henry. In 1305 'Henry Tyrel a notorious robber' was brought to trial, together with some of his band, and certain towns were charged with having given him refuge. In the proceedings is mentioned 'Thomas, brother of Henry, son of Gerald Tyrel' which clearly indicates his paternity. He was convicted of his crimes and sentenced to be 'remitted to prison to die there of hunger', and the constable of the castle was strictly enjoined not to give him food or drink.[56]

Other miscreants. Several other Tyrels are to be seen on the wrong side of the law in Ireland at this time:

(1) In 1305 William Tyrel drove his cattle to feed in Richard Mayer's corn and assaulted the said Richard. For this crime William was committed to gaol, and damages of 20 shillings levied on his lands and chattels.[57]

(2) Also in 1305 John Tyrell was sent to gaol for assault; not being satisfied with his first attempts he 'withdrew and went to his brother's house at Castleknoc, and there armed himself', after which he tried to force an entry into the plaintiff's house.[58] This John is a mystery; having a brother living in Castleknock he could be another son of Gerald, though we do not know the place of habitation of any of his sons; similarly he might be a brother of the William mentioned above, or he could be another brother to Richard and Gerald. Another possibility is that he was the father of the Hugh who died in 1297, who would be too old to be a brother of Richard and Gerald (Richard, presumably the eldest son, was aged 28 in 1299, so it would not be possible for a younger brother of his to have, in 1297, a son who was married). He could hardly be a brother of Hugh, the father of Richard and Gerald, who was dead at that date.

A similar reason debars him from being brother of Richard, the husband of Emma, unless there was yet another brother alive to whose house he could have gone to arm himself. This line of reasoning would suggest, as the only real possibility, Andrew, who had been around since 1283 (v.s.).

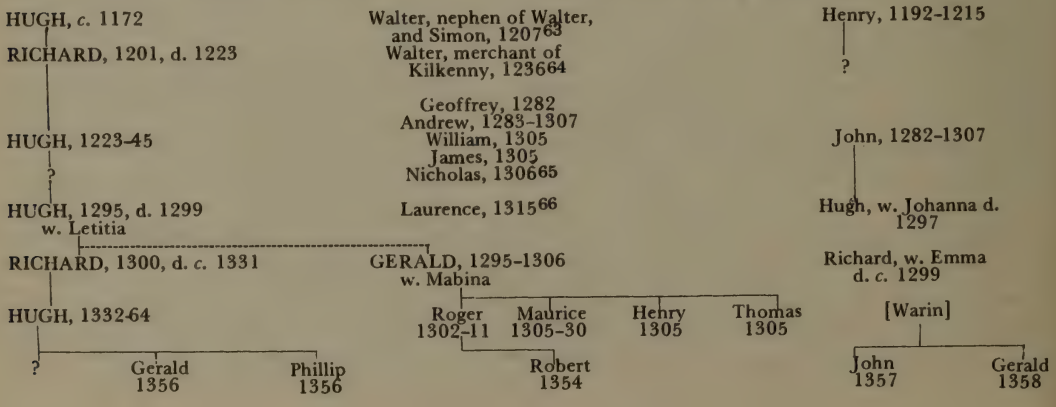
(3) In the same year a James Tyrel was pardoned 'for carrying off Eglentina'; if not actual rape, then for marriage without her parents' consent. This is the sole reference to this name so there are no clues to his family background, though it seems very unlikely, at this date, that he is the James of Essex.

(4) The most startling case, however, is reported in 1307, when John Tyrel was accused, with several others, of assaulting Stephen Oregon, clerk. The story, which might almost have served as the foundation of a tale by Boccaccio or Chaucer, relates how Stephen had been 'lying with' Basilia, the wife of John Don, one of the defendants, during John's absences from home on business; the couple evidently met at an inn. John Don learned of this, and arranged with the innkeeper that he would make pretence of going away, and when Stephen met his wife word should be sent to him. Matters turned out as expected; Stephen joined Basilia at the inn, and took off his shoes, which suggested to the innkeeper that he had come to stay. Word was sent to John Don, who quickly arrived with the others and apprehended Stephen, 'bound him hand and foot, and cut off his testicles, and kept him imprisoned for a night and more'. Stephen claimed £1,000 damages, but judgment was given for only £20, because, one imagines, he should not in the first place have been 'lying with' another man's wife, and, secondly, that in his calling of a celibate clergy his testicles would not, or should not, be of any great value to him.[59]

During the 14th century other names occur; some are undoubtedly direct descendants of Richard and Gerald, as were Gerald and Philip, sons of Hugh, who were indicted in 1356 along with others of killing the sheriff, and 54 other Englishmen, in the course of his duties.[60] 'Robert son of Roger' was presumably grandson of Gerald,[61] but John and Gerald 'sons of Warin'[62] have for their father a man not mentioned elsewhere.

The object of the exercise has been accomplished in tracing the Irish Tyrels, from Hugh at the invasion, down to the mid-14th century, to show that the facts bear no relation to the pedigree given by O'Hart, and the unlikelihood of there being any direct connection between this branch and the James who was settled in Essex in 1304.

A summary of the Tyrels encountered in Ireland during this period:



Several mysteries emerge from this list:

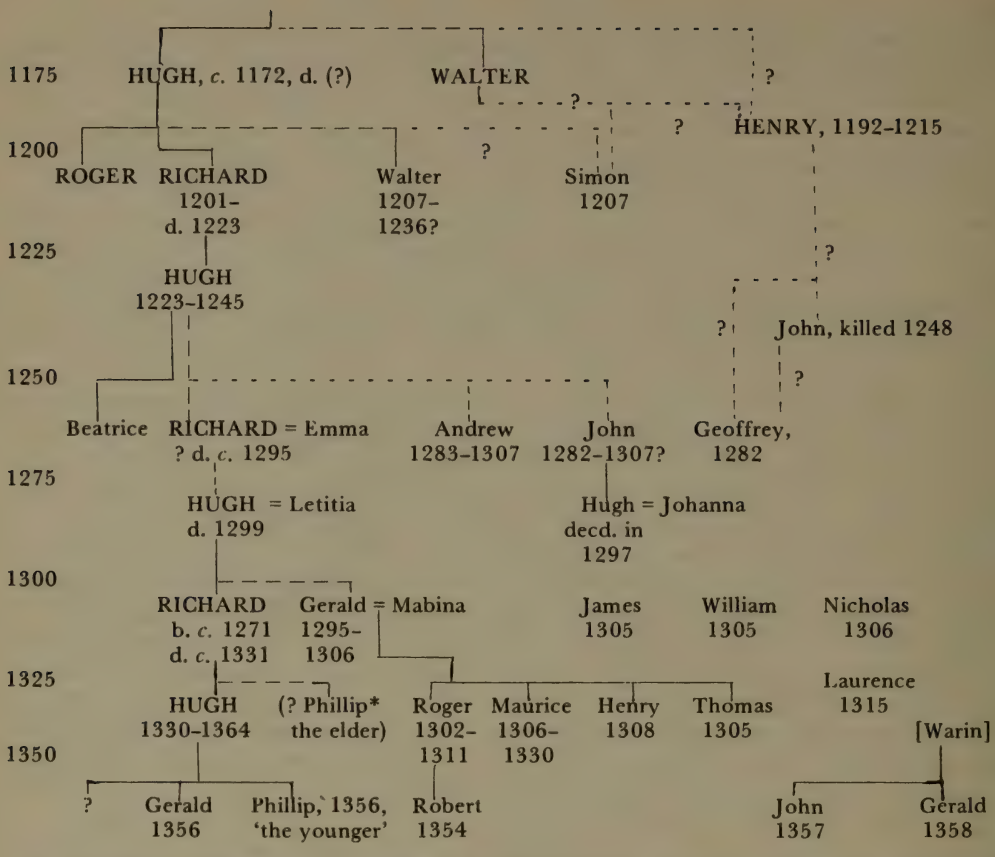
(1) Assuming that Hugh I was succeeded by his son, Richard, and he by his son, Hugh II, then the later Hugh III of 1295–99 seems unlikely to be the son of Hugh II (of undoubted age to inherit in 1223), as this would make him well over 90 years old in 1299. The most satisfying explanation would be the insertion of another generation between these two Hughs, which should be a Richard, and this possibility exists.

(2) Who was the heir of Henry Tyrel? Were John, Andrew and Geoffrey his sons, or were they brothers or even uncles of Hugh III? Henry might have been a son of Hugh I or even of Walter; he should have been aged at least 44 in 1215, but probably not much more as his heir was not of age when he died (? date). His heir might of course have been a grandson, if he himself had no sons, or if a son died in Henry's lifetime leaving an infant son. In this case Henry could belong to the same generation as Hugh I and Walter.

(3) Why 'the nephew of Walter Tirel, to wit, Walter Tirel' in 1207, and who was his father? The probability is that there were two Walters alive at that time, the one being nephew of the other, hence this phrase to distinguish between them. His father could scarcely have been Henry, who was then still living, or he would surely have been described as Walter, son of Henry, so the supposition is that his father (the brother of uncle Walter) was 'dead and forgotten'. With Henry eliminated from the field, the only available alternative on the evidence we possess would be to make him the son of Hugh I, and therefore probably a brother of Richard I. This still leaves Simon Tirel, of the same date, who could have been a brother of the younger Walter; if there were no other with the same name it would not seem necessary to distinguish him in any way. He is unlikely to have been a son of Henry unless he died before his father, as the reference of 1247 to 'the custody of the lands and heirs of Henry Tirel' infers that at the time of Henry's death (post 1215) his eldest son (?) was not yet of age. He could, possibly, be the son of Walter the elder.

(4) It appears that Richard I had an elder brother, Roger, described as 'bailiff of King John', whose lands were 'the subject of an exchange between King John and Richard brother and heir of the said Roger Tyrel'.[67] John reigned from 1299 to 1216, so Richard must have inherited on his brother's decease somewhat before this latter date to allow time for the bargaining and exchange with King John in his lifetime. (The aforementioned Walter and Simon could not have been sons of this Roger, who must have died childless for his brother to be his heir.)

A possible pedigree for the Tyrels of Ireland from the information available is as follows, though it should be emphasised that much of this is doubtful and some wholly speculative. I have set against this the time scale allowing 25 years per generation, starting with Hugh I approximating to the period 1175–1200, from which it can be seen that the pedigree on page 26 is not improbable.



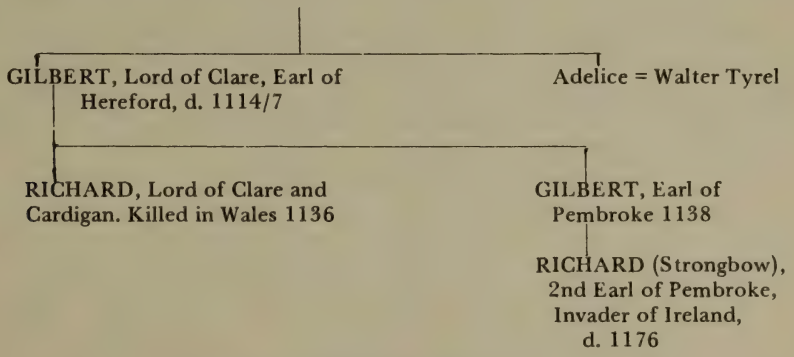
*Not mentioned specifically in records, but there must, by inference, from 'Phillip the younger', 1356, have been another alive at that time. ——— Definite. — — — Probable. - - - - Possible. ? = indicates alternative.

Chapter Four

WELSH BORDER COUNTIES

WE KNOW FROM EARLIER EVIDENCE that Walter Tyrel (the slayer of William Rufus) married into the powerful family of Clare, and we noted that Hugh I of Ireland was, by virtue of being Strongbow's 'intrinsic friend', probably a direct descendant of Walter. Evidence is required providing a continuing link from Domesday England to the Norman invasion of Ireland nearly a century later, and such can probably be found on the southern borders of Wales. Here, in Shropshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, a well-defined branch of the Tyrel family is evident in the 13th and 14th centuries, though the 12th is more obscure.

Assuming the probability that the Tyrels followed the fortunes of their lordly relations the Clares, it is to be expected that some of them would appear in this part of the country. The end of the 11th century saw the aggressive Norman barons over-running most of Wales from their border earldoms, and in 1109 Henry I granted to Gilbert de Clare 'all the land of Cardigan, if he could win it from the Welsh'.[1] This Gilbert was Earl of Hereford, and the records later demonstrate the presence of Tyrels in this county, and in neighbouring Shropshire, where they are associated with the de Lacys. When Richard de Clare, son of Gilbert, was killed fighting in Wales in 1136 his brother Gilbert, inherited his interests, and was created Earl of Pembroke in 1138.

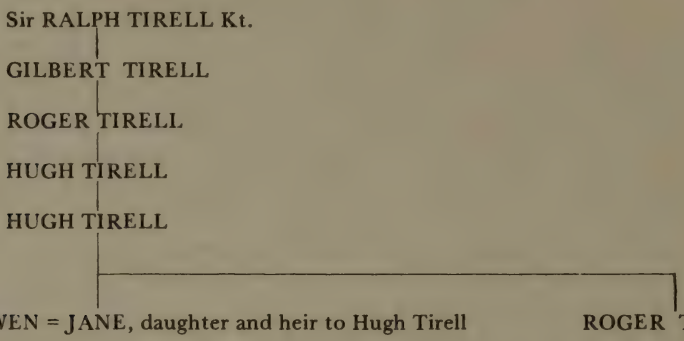


(Pedigree by Micael Maclagan.)

The Clare holding of Glamorgan and Pembroke, comprising most of southern Wales, later became the stepping-off point for the Invasion of Ireland by Richard de Clare (Strongbow), the son of Gilbert, and many of the Norman knights participating in this venture came from Wales and the border lands, including Hugh de Lacy of Ludlow in Shropshire, to whom King Henry granted the kingdom of Meath in 1172.

The Lacy connection with Hugh Tyrel in Ireland therefore provides a further link between the family whose descendants have been traced at Castleknock, and those who remain 'English' in the Welsh border counties.

In pursuing the complicated array of Tyrels in the four counties of Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire we must deal first with pedigrees already drawn up. The original source in this case appears to be a pedigree composed at the heralds' visitation of Shropshire in 1623,[2] which gives:



An approximate dating is given to the latter end of this family tree by the following: '. . . Sir Hugh Tyrrel had a right of free-warren in Solers Dilwyn, 8 Edward III [i.e., 1335] . . . and the heiress Joanna, daughter of Sir Hugh Tyrell (6th in descent from Sir Randall) married John de St. Owen in the reign of Edward III [1327-1377]'.[3] Although the St. Owen family whose pedigree was being drawn up was seated in Shropshire in 1623, no indication is given of the origins of these Tyrell forbears, so we must not assume any connection with that part of the country. However, the reference to Hugh at Solers Dilwyn in 1335 places the family in Herefordshire at that date, and substantiation for this comes from coats of arms listed in other pedigrees. Three separate families—Cotes of Woodcote, Acton of Aldenham, and Hopton of Hopton—include in their quarterings the arms of Terrell, Tirell, and Tirrell respectively, a silver lion rampant on a blue background with a border, though slightly different in each case.

One of the early Heralds' Rolls quotes 'Tyrrell, Sir Roger [of co. Hereford] bore at the first Dunstable tournament, 1308, "Azure a lyon rampant argent, a bordure indented or"' (Plate IV);[4] and listed in *Knights of Edward I* and therefore presumably earlier: 'Sir Roger Tyrel Kt. De Azur' a un lion de argent od la bordur endente de or'.[5] The same shield is pictured in *The Powell Roll of Arms*, dated to *c.* 1345-51, again attributed to a Sir Roger Tyrel. As the earlier named Roger was dead long before that time and there does not appear to have been another of that name (Roger, the son of Hugh and sister of Jane in the visitation pedigree I cannot trace), this must be an error. Only the first few pages of shields have the names written over them in a contemporary hand, the others—including Tyrel—being added later. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that a Tyrel was using these arms when the roll was drawn up (*c.* 1345-51), but when names were being put against the shields at a later date it was not known which one, and the name Roger might have been taken from an earlier roll such as those mentioned above.

From this association of the Tirell arms of 1623 with those of Sir Roger of Hereford at an earlier date, there can be little doubt that the Tirell ancestors must have been of this Herefordshire branch—evidently considered to have been a fairly important family for all the earlier generations to have been drawn into the pedigree.

If, as is stated, Jane was the heiress of her father (i.e., lacking male heir) she would take his arms to her husband, and they were thus incorporated with those of St. Owen. In such a case, the Tyrell arms should stay unchanged, and when used by the three families in 1623 (all deriving them through the St. Owens) be identical with those of Sir Roger, viz.: 'Azure, a lion rampant argent with a border engrailed [or indented] or'. The fact that two of these show a difference—'a bordure or' (i.e., *not* indented) for Acton, and 'a bordure engrailed *Argent*' for Hopton—indicates a copying error, either by the families using these arms, or by the heralds on their visitation, and provides an object lesson in not accepting any documented information without confirmatory evidence.

A slight variation on the Visitation pedigree, though from what evidence I know not, gives:[6]

Sir RANDALL TYRRELL Kt.
|
GILBERT TYRRELL Arm.
|
Sir ROGER TYRRELL Kt.
|
HUGH TYRRELL
|
Sir HUGH TYRRELL Kt.
|
Sir ROGER TYRRELL Kt.
|
ALICE, daughter and heir = JOHN ST. OWEN

The only significant difference is the inclusion of Roger as father, rather than brother, of the family heiress, and she is called Alice, instead of Jane.

Accepting the generations as given by the Heralds, another pedigree has been produced connecting them up to the Walters of Morel-D'Acy thus:[7]

Sir Walter (at Hastings), of Langham and Poix
|
Walter 2 of Langham
|
Walter 3 of Langham and Poix. (Slayer of Rufus.) = Adelice.
|
Roceline de Tyrel of Hereford, a younger son, living 1127. — Hugh, crusade, 1147
|
Walter Fitz Roceline of Hereford
|
Sir Ralph Tyrel, a younger son
|
Gilbert
|
Roger
|
Hugh
|
Sir Hugh
|
Joan = John St. Owen

(Joan and Jane are virtually interchangeable.)

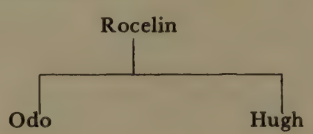
In this pedigree we can ignore the Morel-D'Acy part which has been discussed already. As there is clearly no recorded link between Walter 3 and Roceline, speculation on this period can be left for later consideration. Although bereft of information concerning Jane, the heiress and last of the line, there is evidence enough in the 14th century to fix this end of the pedigree with some degree of accuracy. I can find nothing to connect Gilbert or Ralph with this part of England. There are only two references to a Gilbert, of unspecified abode; the first in 1301 as a witness to a grant by Ralph Pippard.[8] [This is probably the same Ralph Pippard whose 'senescal in Ireland' was Gerald Tyrel in 1301 and 1302 (*v.s.*); thus Gilbert Tyrel would very likely be a close relative (? son) of Gerald of the Irish branch which at this time would be distinct from the Hereford family]. Secondly, in 1332, concerning custody of lands in North Wales, and called 'King's Yeoman'.[9] References to the name Ralph in the early 13th century occur in a completely different part of England, and will be considered later as belonging to another distinct branch.

Since there appears to be no evidence to link Roger with the Rocelins, we must have recourse to deduction, by inserting some definite dates for Roger and the two Hughs, and applying a time scale to the generations, as follows:

1350–1375	Hugh. Died 1380
1325-1350	Hugh. Died 1343
1300–1325	Roger. Died 1316.
1275–1300	Gilbert
1250–1275	Ralph
1225–1250	Walter FitzRoceline
1200–1225	Roceline

Even allowing a leeway of 20 or 30 years, after stepping back four generations from Roger, Roceline does not fit very well with his recorded date of 1127, and the pedigree seems to require two or three more intermediate generations to appear reasonable. This reasoning and the complete absence of a Ralph or Gilbert suggests that the earlier generations are wrong, and analysis of the names in the extant documents indicates a succession of quite different names.

The first definite connection with the Welsh border counties comes from a document called *Herefordshire Domesday,* which lists the Domesday manors of 1086, not with their contemporary holders, but with tenants of 1160–1170. This shows Odo Tirel holding land at Little Marcle, Hugh Tirel at Evesbatch, and Rocelin Tirel holding in Westwood, and the commentary suggests that Hugh was perhaps a brother of Odo. It further states that, as Odo was holding Little Marcle of the Lacy family, he was probably 'the son of Rocelin', who held two knights fees of de Lacy in 1166.[10] There is also a note that a Hugh Tirel—possibly the same man—was excused small sums of scutage in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire in 1158.[11] On this evidence we have the probability of:



The next mention of the family in this part of England concerns Crowle, Worcestershire, which 'had passed by 1182 to Hugh Tirel, who then held the manor under

Hugh Lacy'.[12] Then in 1186/7 the Pipe Roll for Gloucestershire shows payment of expenses, while overseas (? in Ireland), to a Roger Tirel. By the turn of the century the position becomes very involved, with more names and such descriptions as Richard, son of Roger, Richard, son of Hugh, and Roger, son of Stephen, connected in varying ways with Hugh, Walter, Odo, and Rocelin, son of Odo. Some indication of the relationships can be gained from the tangle of litigation concerning the two properties of Crowle, Worcestershire, and Little Marcle, Herefordshire, summarised briefly thus:

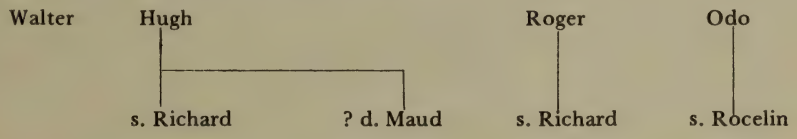
Crowle:

1182 Hugh Holding.[12]
1194 Odo has judgement against Roger.[13]
1201 Odo and son Rocelin v. Hugh (holding). Maud also lays a claim.[14]
1213 Richard, son of Roger Tirel has a 'precipe' against Richard Tirel.[15]
1214 Licence of concord between Richard, son of Hugh and Richard, son of Roger.[16]

Little Marcle:

1200 Odo v. Hugh (four knights sent to enquire into alleged infirmity of Odo).[17]
Hugh puts in his place Walter. Rocelin, son of Odo.[17]
1201 Rocelin, son of Odo.[18]
1204 Odo (holding) v. Richard and Maud.[19]
1208 Odo (holding) v. Richard.[20]
Licence of concord, Odo and Richard.[21]

We are encountering the same collection of Tyrels in both these cases, and they must all be fairly closely related to be arguing about the inheritance of the lands in question. They appear to fall into line thus:



Hugh does not seem to take any part in the proceedings, being represented by Walter in 1200; probably he was aged and infirm, and as he is not mentioned after 1201 at Crowle he possibly died between then and 1204, when he was replaced at Little Marcle by Richard, presumably his son, and Maud, who would thus appear to be his daughter. This Walter representing Hugh in 1200 might have been his brother (we noted under Ireland the possibility of a Walter as brother of Hugh); he is not mentioned again in connection with these disputes, but a Walter (presumably the same one) was involved in litigation concerning an estate in Evesbatch, Herefordshire, from 1201 to 1203,[22] so perhaps he was too busy with his own affairs to spend time on those of his brother.

Evesbatch occurred earlier, when Hugh Tirel was holding land there *c.* 1160-1170,[11] which is again suggestive of a close family link between him and Walter, and in 1242/3 land at Evesbatch was held by Roger Tyrel.[23] Crowle is not recorded again in the Tyrel family after 1213, so it is not possible to derive from its later ownership any links of inheritance. Little Marcle, after 1208, does not occur again for many years, but is shown to be held in 1242/3 by a Roger Tyrel[23] who, almost certainly, must be the son of Richard, son of Roger, as Roger, son of Stephen, died in 1229.

The references to Hugh are scanty and short-lived, so probably all refer to the same person; I imagine him to be the first Hugh of Ireland. His holding of Crowle under Hugh Lacy agrees well with Hugh of Ireland's enfeoffment by Hugh Lacy in Meath. Secondly, Hugh of Ireland was succeeded by a son, Richard, and Richard, son of Hugh, occurs in an agreement concerning lands in Worcestershire, probably Crowle again. This Richard is not discernible after that date (subsequent references would seem to be to Richard, son of Roger), which would agree with his inheritance at about this time of his elder brother Roger's estates in Ireland, and his disappearance from the English scene.

If we accept this for Richard, son of Hugh, then the subsequent generations in these counties can probably be connected with Richard, son of Roger, but the placing of Roger in the family tree is made difficult by the uncertainty of whether the references are to one or more bearing the name Roger. The earliest mention of any Roger occurs when he witnessed a deed of grant of land in Yorkshire between 1172 and 1181.[24] The Gloucestershire mention of 1186 (*v.s.*) is followed by one in Worcestershire in 1194, when Odo Tirel had judgement in the King's Court against Roger Tirel for a knights's fee in Crowle.[13] Then, in 1200, Roger and his father, Stephen, appear in connection with Chardstock on the Dorset/Devon border,[25] and subsequent references to Chardstock show it still held by Roger, son of Stephen, in 1224 and 1225.[26] In 1212, Roger Tirel held one knight's fee in Chiltingham, Sussex,[27] of which he was still in possession at his death in 1229,[28] and his successor there was Thomas who, at his death in 1240, held not only this estate but land in Catherington, Hampshire,[29] where Roger had an interest in 1199.[30] There seems reasonable evidence here to propose a direct relationship for these Tyrels connected with the southern counties of:

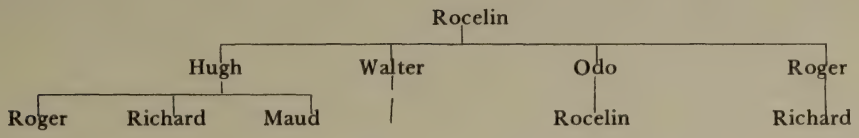
Stephen
|
s. Roger
|
s. Thomas

That the same Roger was father of both Richard and Thomas appears unlikely on at least two counts. Firstly, the necessity to describe one as 'Roger son of Stephen' implies the existence of another contemporary Roger. Secondly, if we postulate Roger being father of both Thomas and Richard, and dividing his estates between them, it would surely be strange to find, as we do, references in Sussex and Hampshire between 1214 and 1229 exclusively to the father Roger, and not the son Thomas, and in the western counties during the same period practically all the documentation referring to the son Richard and not the father Roger. On these grounds it would seem that Roger of Sussex and Hampshire had no connection with the Welsh border counties, and could not be the father of Richard, who was probably the son of Roger of Crowle.

There is no way of telling whether the earliest Roger, in Yorkshire, is a separate individual or whether he can be equated with Roger, father of Richard, or Roger, son of Stephen. If he were identical with one of these, it would more likely be the former who should have antedated by some years Roger, the son of Stephen.

Arguing from the close relationship of Hugh and his son Richard to Roger and his son Richard, demonstrated in the litigation of Crowle and Little Marcle, and the reappearance of Little Marcle with Roger, the grandson of Roger, the probability is

that Roger was another brother of Hugh (whose own son, Roger, evidently died without progeny, as Richard was his heir in Ireland). Thus, the early generations assume this pattern:



Further circumstantial evidence for a Rocelin being the ancestor of the Tyrels in these parts comes from two sources:[31]

(1) A Rocelin Tirel (of where?) existed in 1127.

(2) Mention is made in 1216 of some land at Little Marcle called 'Roseline Frith'[32] (frith is Old English 'furth', wood or woodland), which undoubtedly contains the name of an earlier holder of the land; the Tyrels were certainly connected with Little Marcle, *c.* 1160-70,[10, 11] when it was held by Odo, who appears to be the son of Rocelin. This again was Lacy country, a family from whom the Tyrels held in Ireland in 1172 and in Worcesterhire in 1182. (Hugh Lacy held 588¾ knights fees in 1165-6, and with his earldom of Meath received, in 1172, a further 50).

It seems certain from the above that Hugh and Odo, encountered at the end of the 12th century, were sons of Rocelin with whom they were associated in the 'Herefordshire Domesday' some 30 years previously. This being so, Rocelin is too far forward in time to match with the Rocelin documented in 1127, who, if connected with this family, should belong to an earlier generation. It is thus possible that the later one was 'fitz' (son of) Rocelin the first, as given in one of the pedigrees, so deductive reasoning if not direct evidence leads us to accept this as a probability.

Descendants of Roger

Although the subsequent generations of the 'Welsh Border' Tirels appear to derive from Richard, son of Roger, it is not certain how many generations are mentioned during the succeeding century because of the repetition and overlap of the two names Richard and Roger. For none of these have we documentation listing *all* the lands and manors they held, but for each there are references to *some* or one of their possessions. From this scant information it can be seen that the same places recur at different times, from which we can infer descent in the same family line.

The Richards

The first reference to Richard, the son of Roger, was in 1213; the name is then found several times in each decade until 1259, after which there is a 30-year gap. If all these references were to the same man, this gives him, at the absolute minimum, a life span of 67 years (46 plus 21), with the probability of it being somewhat longer. The possibility therefore exists that there might have been two of the same name, father and son, spanning this period. It is, however, distinctly probable that if this were the case there would be at least one reference to a 'Richard son of Richard' or 'Richard the younger' when it was necessary to distinguish between two contemporary

men of the same name. In the absence of any such notice, the indication is that there was but one Richard from 1213 to 1259. There can be little doubt that the next Richard encountered, in 1289, is a different person; he does not appear to have been noteworthy and receives only one further mention, in 1316 (if indeed this is the same man).

The Rogers

Although he may have been living some time previously, and might be mentioned in the litigation concerning Crowle and Little Marcle at the beginning of the 13th century, Roger, the father of Richard, becomes identifiable only in 1213, and the Roger connected with Somerset in that year is probably he. This connection recurs until 1234, which effectively eliminates Roger, son of Stephen, as a possibility, since he was dead in 1229. The Roger occurring in 1242/3[23] may or may not be the 'Roger son of Richard' of 1253 who continues to be mentioned until about 1285.

In 1290 we find Roger, son of Roger, who is prominent from then until his death in 1316. In 1332 and again in 1346[33] are two references to another 'Roger son of Roger', but before this we have already encountered the well-documented Hugh, described as son and heir of Roger (he died in 1343), which confuses the issue. One or two other names appear briefly during the span of the Rogers, so a chronological table of all these Tyrels is indicated on the following page. Against these are placed counties and manors which occur in connection with them (those which recur being marked with distinctive symbols).

We have settled above for one Richard from 1213 to 1259 because of the lack of any suggestion of there being another, though this allots an unusually long time span to one generation. It must be remembered that on the whole men, and women, too, did not in those days enjoy such long lives as we do today, and, secondly, although not legally of age to hold property until age 21 (this was reputed to be the age at which a man was strong enough to wield a sword), the tendency was to marry and therefore produce children at a younger age. In the Irish section we noted that Richard the heir of Hugh in 1299 was 'aged 28 years and married 13 years past', i.e., at the age of 15 or sixteen.

Bearing in mind these considerations, the majority of generations are liable to be shorter rather than longer—an 'active period' of perhaps twenty or thirty years being normal. Furthermore, if one man lives much longer than the average span then his son, who might be only about twenty years younger, is liable to appear for a shorter period after his father's decease. I am, on the grounds of probable age, suspicious about a Roger II from 1242 to 1285 being the son of Richard I, and yet being the father of Roger III of 1290-1316. Roger II must have been at least in his middle sixties at the time of his last mention, and as Roger III the 'son and heir of Roger' does not appear before 1290 he had probably attained his majority only recently before that date. This would mean his father was about fifty which remains improbable, particularly as the Roger of 1242/3 had at that time a wife, Sarah, so one would expect progeny at about this date. My interpretation postulates that Roger of 1242/3 to 1285 was really two of the same name, viz.:

Roger IIa of 1242/3 whom we find with lands in Little Marcle, Evesbatch and Wormton, Herefordshire,[23] who is probably the 'Roger of Wormton' recorded at

Roger (I)

1213 Somerset
1223 Somerset
1230 Somerset
1234 Somerset

Roger (II) ?a

1242/3 Herefordshire. Little Marcle E.
Madiene
1243 Somerset
(Wife Sarah)

– – – – – – – – – – – – –

Roger (II) ?b

1253 Son of Richard
1262 Herefordshire
1265 Herefordshire
1267 Herefordshire and Salop. Cold
Cold Weston. D.
1270 Somerset. Chilcompton
1275 Salop
1284 Somerset, Chilcompton.
Gloucestershire. Shipton. A.

Roger (III)

1290 Son and heir of Roger
1292 Salop
1296 Herefordshire. Catley
1300 Somerset and Dorset
1303 Herefordshire. Dilwyn. F.
1303/4 Herefordshire and Salop.
Middlehope. B.
1308 Herefordshire. Lugwardine
1311 Salop. Middlehope. B.
1313 Witness in Essex
1314 Gloucestershire. Charfield.
Somerset. Easton
1316 Gloucestershire and Hereford-
shire. Hungarston

Roger (IV)

1332 Son of Roger
& Salop,
1346 Weston. D.

Richard (I)

1213 Son of Roger
1220 Salop. Siefton
1221 Herefordshire
1223 Gloucestershire. Shipton. A.
(Wife Dionysia)
1225 Gloucestershire. Shipton. A.
1232 Gloucestershire
1233 Gloucestershire and Salop
1234/5 Gloucestershire. Shipton. A.
1242/3 Gloucestershire. Shipton. A.
1246/8 Salop
1250 Salop. Siefton
1253–9 Salop
1253–55 Norncott. C.
1253–56 Cold Weston. D.
1253–59 Corfton

Richard (II)

1289 Herefordshire 'of Little Marcle'. E.
1296 Wales
1316 Herefordshire. Bullingham
(Wife Joan)

Stephen

1271 Salop. Munslow

Robert

1274–5 Herefordshire. Little Marcle.
(decd.). E.

William

pre 1328 Glos. Shipton. A.
(Wife Denise)

Hugh

1328 Son and heir of Roger
1343 Herefordshire. Dilwyn. F.
Rock. G.

John

1360 Gloucester. Shipton. A.
Salop. Norncott. C.
Middlehope. B.
Herefordshire. Dilwyn. F.
Rock. G.

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about this date.[34] Wormton does not feature in any later generations; Little Marcle occurs, but not in association with any 'important' member of the family; nor is Evesbatch met with again. On the other hand, we noted earlier Little Marcle and Evesbatch in the Tyrel family at the beginning of the century, so this Roger IIa was undoubtedly a descendant of one of the earlier members we have encountered. Obviously not son of Richard I, whose son Roger must be Roger IIb, he could not be the son of Hugh for reasons already stated. This leaves three possibilities for his parentage, any of which could be valid: Walter, Odo, and Roger I (the father of Richard I). The last suggestion has additional evidence in its favour, in that this Roger IIa had lands in Shalford, Somerset, in 1243, which suggests that the references to a Roger between 1213 and 1234, which are all to Somerset, may be to the same man. This would bring him more into line, for age, with Richard I who would be his brother, and account for the lack of references to Somerset with Richard I. A further point is that the description of 'Roger son of Richard' in 1253 may have been used to distinguish this Roger from another of the same name, who would thus be 'Roger of Wormton' (IIa).

Robert and Richard II

In 1274 the Sheriff of Herefordshire informed the king that he had taken charge of the 'lands late of Robert Tyrel, deceased, tenant in chief',[33] and in 1275 it is recorded that one Michael de Haverington was presented to the living of Little Marcle 'in the king's gift by reason of the lands of Robert Tyrel, deceased, tenant in chief, being in his hands'.[36] Then, in 1289, we find a mention of 'Richard Tyrel of Little Markeleye'.[37] The only other positive placing of a Richard is in 1316 when he is mentioned with his wife Joan, again in Herefordshire, but holding land at Bullingham, Cleyhanger and Hereford. It is recorded that the land is held of John de Solers of Little Marcle, in dower, with reversion to John, the son and heir of the said John.[38] In 1342 John, son of John de Solers, was recorded as holding the reversion 'expectant on the demise of Joan late the wife of Richard Tyrel'.[39] Since Joan was holding this de Solers property for her life she must surely have been of that family. As Robert and Richard II do not readily fit into the main family line their connection with Little Marcle suggests their descent from Roger IIa, thus: Roger IIa ... son Robert ... son Richard II.

The reference in 1274 to the death of Robert Tyrel mentions that the lands were being cultivated by a Grimbald Pauncefoot, presumably as under-tenant of Robert, which provides another connection, though indirect, with the family of de Solers, as the lands called 'Roseline Frith' at Little Marcle were, in 1216, granted by John de Solers—holding there of the de Lacy family—to Grimbald Pauncefoot who was probably the father or grandfather of the later one of that name.

The preceding paragraphs have accounted for Roger IIa, Robert and Richard II, but there remain the isolated references to William and Stephen. An enquiry in 1328 into the lands held in Gloucestershire by the Knights Templar records an annual rent of 15s. 4d. granted to them by William Tyrel and his wife Denise in Shipton.[40] It does not give the date of the grant so all we can infer is that it was pre 1328. Roger IIb held half a fee here in 1284/5, in which he had subinfeuded William de Solers,[41] probably father of the John de Solers met with in 1316 (*v.s.*), but there is

no other mention in the main branch of the family until it appears again with John in 1360.[42] This lack of mention suggests its being in a collateral branch with later reversion, through possible default of heir, to the main family, and the likelihood is that William was a younger son of Roger IIb.

Stephen was involved, with others, in a litigation at Munslow, Salop, in 1271,[43] so may have been living in that county. A later mention of Munslow in 1339[44] shows lands held there by Hugh Tyrel, but only temporarily during the minority of an heir, so there is no direct land link between Stephen and Hugh.

There is evidence among the details of inheritance of the sons of Hugh I of the reversion to this line of lands connected with other Tyrels, presumably lacking direct heir. We learn from the Inquisition Post Mortem of John Wake in 1349 that he held a life interest in the manors of Stoke Wake and Batcombe, Dorset, 'by the grant of Bartholomew Tirel and Robert his brother' with remainder (at this date) to John as the son and heir of Hugh, who died in 1343,[45] and when this John died in 1360 it is recorded that he held one third of the Manor of Compton Martyn, Somerset, in fee tail 'by grant of Bartholomew Tyrel, Robert his brother et al. by fine levied in the king's court to Hugh Tyrel and Margery his wife and the heirs of their bodies from whom it descended to the deceased as their son and heir'.[42]

These properties in Somerset and Dorset were granted for life to John Wake in 1337[46] about the time that his daughter Margery married Hugh Tyrel; John, their elder son, was born 3 February 1339.[47] The tenant in chief of the manor of Compton Martin in 1360 was James de Audeley, while the lands of John in Dilwyn, Herefordshire, at this date were stated to be held of Sir Nicholas de Audeley.[42] James was probably the tenant in chief at Dilwyn in 1360, as Hugh Tyrel had acquired this holding about 1338 from 'James son of Nicholas Daudele'.[48] (Sir James Audley, *c.* 1316–1369, the eldest son of Sir James Audley of Stratton Audley, Oxon., was one of the original knights of the Order of the Garter, and served with the Black Prince in France.)

Little else is known about Robert, but he held a quarter fee in Dilwyn in 1346, which formerly belonged to Roger Tyrel,[49] while at the same time Bartholomew held a small part of a fee in nearby Sarnesfield.[49] Bartholomew was a clergyman who, between 1332 and 1360 held livings in Crediton, Devonshire; 'Clopman', ? Surrey; Radnor, Wales; 'Baunton', ? Gloucestershire; and was described as 'King's clerk' in 1337 when he became archdeacon of Gloucester, and received mention in Worcestershire and Herefordshire in the latter of which he had an interest in some land.[50] He received a pardon for outlawry in Worcestershire in 1346,[51] and in 1359 was pardoned 'for the death of John de Hynton, son of Alice Tyrel, . . . on the testimony of Bartholomew de Burghersh that he is not guilty thereof, but was staying in the king's service at Calais in the company of Richard Talbot at the time when the said John was killed in Co. Hereford'.[52] These references indicate that Bartholomew and Robert belonged to the Herefordshire family, as did Alice who had married a Hynton.

After the death of Hugh I in 1343 his lands were held in custody until his elder son John came of age in 1360. When Hugh's mother, Joan (widow of Roger III) died in 1344, she was holding, of John's inheritance, a three-quarter fee in Dilwyn,[53] which must then have passed to Robert who was holding it in 1346. The inquisition at Hereford, early in 1360, which declared John of age, recorded that his lands 'are in the custody of Ralph de Baggelegh'.[47] There is no mention of Robert at Dilwyn,

but this may mean that he had been an undertenant of Baggelegh, and so it is not possible to deduce from this whether or not he had previously died.

Bartholomew and Robert had created entails of their estates in Dorset and Somerset to Hugh Tyrel and his wife Margery and the heirs of their bodies, with a prior life interest in the Dorset lands to John Wake, the father of Margery. Why they should have done so is not easy to surmise: Bartholomew as a cleric would not have any heir, but unless Robert was also a clergyman (for which we have no evidence), he would have anticipated producing an heir. Possibly we are missing vital information which might show, for instance, that the brothers had received their land on temporary lease; perhaps they were custodians of the estate during Hugh I's minority? This suggestion is not supported by finding these properties in the hands of Hugh's father, nor is there record of Roger III's known estates being held in trust for Hugh.

And what of Shipton Solers, which appears with Richard I and Roger IIb, then seems to pass into a collateral line with William, only to return to the main branch with John? This, too, might have been held by one or other of these two brothers, with later reversion.

What relationship did Bartholomew and Robert bear to Hugh I? They are more or less contemporary with Hugh, bearing in mind he probably died young, so logically they should belong to the same generation, and be either his brothers or his cousins. It has been suggested that William might have been a younger brother of Roger III, and thus be the father of Bartholomew and Robert. Shipton Solers could then be 'missing' in this collateral branch for the first half of the century, turning up again with a reversion by Bartholomew and Robert to the heirs of Hugh. Alternatively, they could be younger brothers of Hugh, in which event there is no evident link between Shipton Solers with William, pre 1328, and John in 1360. The question remains open, but the former solution appears the neater.

Roger III and Roger IV

One enigma still remains: Roger IV is described as 'son of Roger' when he appears in 1332 and 1346 at Cold Weston, Shropshire, which occurs previously with Richard I and his son, Roger IIb, so he must surely be the son of Roger III who died in 1316. Hugh, who predeceased Roger IV, is described as 'son and heir of Roger' so he could only be the son of Roger III and thus be the elder brother of Roger IV.

Hugh I to Hugh II

The subsequent stages from Hugh I to Hugh II, the end of the line, are well documented, and leave no room for doubt. When Hugh I died in 1343 the inquisition held on his lands in the counties of Hereford, Salop and Dorset inform us that his wife was Margery, his mother Joan and his son and heir John.[54] In the following year both Margery and Joan died, and the latter is described as 'late the wife of Roger Tirel (or Tyrel)',[55] while the I.P.M. of John Wake in 1349 informs us that Margery Tyrel was one of his three daughters and co-heiresses.[45]

In February 1360 an inquisition was held at Hereford 'to take the proof of age' of John, son and heir of Hugh Tyrel, and the statements of several men who remembered his birth declared that he was born at Rodd, Herefordshire, on 3 February

1339, and baptised the next day in the church of Presteigne on the Hereford/Wales border. He therefore attained his majority on 3 February 1360, and was declared of age to inherit.[47] John lived only six months after this, dying on 6 August 1360, leaving a widow, Agnes, but evidently no children, as his heir was declared to be his brother, Hugh, then aged nearly nineteen.[42]

Hugh was declared of age in 1363, when the inquisition recorded that he was born at Bromcroft (Salop) and baptised there on 29 November 1341, and so reached the age of 21 on 29 November 1362.[56] Sometime during this decade he married Isabel the widow of Walter atte Bergh, who held various lands in Wiltshire and Hampshire. After her death in 1369,[57] Hugh married secondly Katherine . . ., who survived him[58] when he died at the end of December 1379 or early January 1380.[59]

Perhaps the most interesting entry concerns the manors of Gorwell and Batcombe in 1382 which, commencing with the agreement between John Wake and Bartholomew and Robert Tyrel, traces the descent of these properties down to Hugh II and states that he 'died without issue'.[61] Now this is intriguing, if not to say perplexing, as the Visitation pedigree from which we started states that Hugh had a daughter, Joan, who married John St. Owen, and a son, Roger. Even assuming the existence of a Roger for whom we have no record, and his pre-deceasing his father, then Hugh's heir should have been his daughter Joan or her children, St. Owens. The only references I can find concerning any heirs of Hugh are both noted in 1410, and serve to confuse the matter still further.

In February 1410 certain tenements in the town of Shaftesbury, Dorset, 'which Hugh Tyrell held of (King) Richard II in chief on the day of his death' are held by the king 'by reason of the minority of his heir'.[62] This cannot be any other Hugh Tyrell to fit in with the reign of Richard II from 1377 to 1399, and quite obviously his heir could not be his son, still under 21 years of age 30 years after the death of Hugh. Nor does it seem likely that it was a grandson, as the child's mother would surely have been listed as issue and heiress of Hugh in the document of 1382.;

Then, in October 1410, the Manor of 'Oggeforde St. James', Wiltshire, is delivered to 'John Tyrell the elder' as Hugh Tyrell Kt. had granted, in 1377, a life interest in this property to one Nicholas Waldeheof (now deceased) with the reversion to 'his heir John Tyrell'.[63] This cannot be the same heir as the first mentioned, as this man was born before 1377 and would be a minimum of 33 years of age in 1410. Furthermore, his description as 'John Tyrell the elder' presupposes the existence of a younger one of that name. John Tyrell of Essex (see later section) could not fit with either of these two as he was of age before 1410, and would undoubtedly have been referred to as John, son of Walter Tyrell of Essex, if he had been intended as the 'heir of Hugh'.

A clue may lie in the 1381 reference to a John Tyrell of co. Dorset, one of the guarantors when the late Hugh's lands in 'Stoke Wake, Hulle and Chaundelwake' were delivered to the escheator to a custodian.[60] This would seem to be John the elder, to whom Hugh had granted a reversion in 1377, and it is possible that he had a son, John, who could have been Hugh's heir in Shaftesbury. John Tyrell of Dorset, though some relation of Hugh II, can only be fitted into the tree by guesswork. He was not a brother, Hugh I was declared to have issue John and Hugh, and this John's death was well documented; furthermore, the entail on the Dorset lands limited them to the heirs of the body of Hugh I and his wife Margery, and John of Dorset did not accede to this property. Unless he was the son of someone unknown to us, the

possibilities are that John (the elder) had for his father either Robert, the brother of Bartholomew (known to have had associations with Dorset), or Roger IV, and was a distant and poor cousin of Hugh, to whom some unentailed property was given.

Reverting to Joan, the reputed daughter and heiress of Hugh II, the document quoted above nullifies this connection with the St. Owens. There is, nevertheless ample evidence from the heraldic bearings of the St. Owens and other families descended from them to believe that a female Tyrel married into that family. Perhaps she was a daughter of Hugh I, or even of one of the Rogers? The only date for this event is 'in the reign of Edward III', i.e., 1327 to 1377,[3] but if she was not the family heiress then the Tyrel arms should not have been incorporated in the quarterings of St. Owen. If she was the daughter of Roger IV she just might have outlived him and also Hugh II to become the sole survivor and heiress of this family.

We can now complete the sketch pedigree of the Tyrels of the Welsh borders from the first Roger to the end of the line with Hugh II (see Pedigree 3) and, having placed the various Tyrels of the 13th and 14th centuries in a reasonable order, some further details of their lives and activities can be filled in.

Richard I (1213–1259)

After the Worcestershire mentions in 1213 and 1214 of Crowle, Richard appears as a witness to a grant of land at Siefton, Shropshire, *c.* 1220[66] and in a Herefordshire plea in 1221. In 1223 and 1225 there is litigation between the Master of the Knights Templar in England on the one hand, and Richard and his wife Dionysia on the other, concerning Shipton in Gloucestershire,[66] while in 1228 Richard and Dionysia are plaintiffs in an 'assise of novel disseissin' concerning a tenement in Hethe, Herefordshire.[67] Since Dionysia appears together with her husband in these latter cases the inference must be that the lands in question came to Richard by right of his wife's inheritance.

In 1228, Walter de Clifford appointed Richard Tirel to act as his attorney, under the heading of Hertfordshire,[68] in 1232 Richard was appointed 'Knight of enquiry' in Gloucestershire,[69] and in 1233 it is recorded that he had supplied two knights in the king's service.[70] He held one knight's fee at Shipton, Gloucestershire,[71] which at this date was known as Shipton Chamfleurs, but in the early 14th century came to be called Shipton Solers. Between 1246 and 1258 Richard Tyrel served Shropshire, where he presumably held his other knight's fee (in 1255 he held the Manor of Norncott),[72] as knight of enquiry,[73] and as Coroner of the county from 1248 to 1253.[74]

In 1256 'Richard Tyrel had disseissed Richard de Passethorn of a water-mill in Cold Weston [Salop], but having improved the said mill, damages are not given',[75] and in 1259 the last mention of Richard is in connection with a virgate of land (i.e., about 30 acres) in Corfton, Shropshire.[76] Though holding knight's fees for many years, it seems that he took up 'the honour' of knighthood fairly late, as it is only during the last decade that he is referred to as Sir Richard.

Roger IIb (1253–1285) was described in 1253 as 'son of Richard' in an 'exemption for life from being put on assises, juries or recognitions, or from being made sheriff, coroner, escheator, verderor, forester, agister, or regarder'.

Roger, either as a mark of favour or for payment, was granted quittance from the duties expected of a knight in the affairs of his county and the management of the royal forests, though this deed by the king did not appear to be worth very much, as he was made coroner in Herefordshire in 1262,[78] which office he probably held for several years, as in 1265 there is an 'exemption of Roger Tyrel, coroner in the county of Hereford, from being put on assises, juries or recognitions, so long as he holds that office'.[79] His other duties included appointment in 1268 as Justice for gaol delivery at Bridge Sollers, Herefordshire,[73] and as foreman of a jury at Burford, Shropshire, in 1274.[73]

In 1257 he went on military service to Wales with Edward (the son and heir of King Henry III, and later King Edward I,[80] and in 1267 he received the king's quittance of a debt to Aaron le Blunt, a Jewish moneylender of Hereford. This document related that Prince Edward had pardoned Roger of the debt to the Jew some time previously when he, the Prince, had control of Jewry, but 'by occasion of the disturbances had in the realm' (this presumably alludes to the rebellion of Simon de Montfort) this had not been settled, so the king instructed that Price Edward must 'satisfy the said Jew of the arrears of the said debt'.[81] Shortly after this Roger was in royal disfavour because of his adherence to the family of Clare; in 1269 was enrolled a pardon and remission to Roger Tyrel 'of the king's indignation and rancour of mind conceived towards him because of the things he did on the occasion of the dissension between the king and the earl'.[82] (Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, the 'Red Earl', was the most powerful subject in the kingdom, which may account for the king pardoning Roger his offences.)

Roger undoubtedly succeeded Richard in Shropshire since in 1267 he is recorded in connection with Cold Weston,[83] and in 1272 he reached agreement with the Abbot of Shropshire concerning arrears of rent[84]—again probably concerning land at Cold Weston. About this time there is a record of quitclaim by Roger Tyrel to Salop Abbey relating to the 'Church of Coldewestone'.[85] In 1265 he appeared on a Great Hereford Inquisition concerning the estates of Acornbury Nunnery,[86] *c.* 1267 he attested a Pembridge, Herefordshire, deed,[87] and *c.* 1268 attested Matilda Longespee's Charter to Shrewsbury Abbey.[88]

Roger had an interest in land in Nether Heyton, Salop in the early 1260s,[89] and in 1270 Jordan de Norton, who was 'hanged for felony', held of Roger Tyrel lands in the manor of Chilcompton, Somerset.[90] Between 1275 and 1282 he witnessed further Shropshire grants, in one of which he was described as *Sir* Roger Tyrel.[91] In 1284/5 he is recorded as holding a half fee in Chilcompton,[92] and in the same year William de Solers was his tenant of half a fee in Shipton Solers, Gloucestershire.[41] He probably died shortly after this date, and the next mention of Roger is his son and heir in 1290. Chilcompton disappears from the scene, but Shipton occurs at an unspecified date in connection with a William.

Roger III (1290–1316) first occurs in 1290 in connection with an annual payment to the crown for lands held in wardship which he held as son and heir of Roger Tyrel, who received the original grant.[93] In view of the 10-year gap between Roger IIb and Roger III it may very well be that the latter was still under age when his father died, and did not inherit until about 1290. It is unlikely that he was of very advanced years as Hugh, his son and heir, does not emerge until about 1328, some 12 years after the death of Roger, suggesting that Hugh was under age when his father died.

Military Service

In 1295 Roger was with the army of Edward I 'on the expedition of the war of Wales',[94] and in 1300 he was declared to have £40 lands in Somerset and Dorset (i.e., two knight's fees) when he was summoned to serve against the Scots.[95] In 1303 he went on the Scottish wars, with Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and was granted respite of aids in Herefordshire and Shropshire during his absence.[96] (Ralph de Monthermer held his title of Earl of Gloucester and Hertford from his marriage to Joan, the daughter of Edward I, whose first husband was Gilbert de Clare, the 'Red Earl' [died 1295], with whom the preceding Roger Tyrel was connected. Ralph de Monthermer is listed among over a hundred nobles and knights who accompanied the king in 1300 at 'The Siege of Caerlaverock'; a contemporary rhyme commemorating the siege describes the arms borne by all these people. Unfortunately Roger Tyrel does not feature in this, so perhaps he joined the army too late for this action.) Roger remained with the king in Scotland for at least the first half of 1304[97] and in that year was pardoned 'in consideration of his service in Scotland' £12 arrears on the lands held in custody, late of his father.[98] (The actual amount bargained for by the crown appears from this reference to have been £40, and if Roger had indeed paid off £2 annually since 1290 as the first mention directed him to do, then by 1304 he would have cleared £28 of the £40 so that the £12 he was pardoned would be the remainder due. This supposes, however, that his father had not paid off any of the £40. But the evidence of the first reference of 1290, stating that Roger [the younger] is at that date held to the king for the sum of 51 marks [i.e., £34], infers that £6 had previously been repaid. This being so, Roger's pardon of 1304 could not be for the remainder of £12 due at that date unless he had fallen behind with the payments for three years, possibly those years he was on military service and respite of aids.)

In 1314, he was granted protection in his absence when 'going beyond the seas on the king's service in the train of Queen Isabella with Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford'.[99] (This Gilbert was the son and heir of Gilbert the Red Earl, who inherited the title in 1308 at the age of 16 after the death of his mother. He was Guardian of the Realm in 1311, Regent in 1313 at the age of 21, and was killed at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314.) Roger Tyrel, first described as Sir Roger in 1310, also probably fought in this disaster against Robert the Bruce, as in October 1314 he made complaint that while on the king's service in Scotland certain persons 'broke his house at Charfield, Gloucestershire, and carried away his goods'.[100]

Lands

Roger Tyrel had an interest in Catley, Herefordshire, in 1296,[101] as well as his property in Gloucestershire (*v.s.*). He also had an estate at Middlehope, Shropshire, having respite of suit of court against him in 1304 concerning this[102] while in Scotland with the king; and in the same year was granted 'to Roger Tyrel and his heirs, free warren in all their demesne lands in Middlehope'.[103] Further grants in 1311 allowed Roger to 'give, sell and assart at his will' his wood of Middlehope,[104] and licensed him for life to 'hunt with his dogs, hares and foxes in his demesne wood of Middlehope within the metes of Long Forest, county Salop, fence months excepted'.[105] These gifts allowed to him certain privileges normally reserved to the Crown under Forest Law.

(There is clearly some confusion in *Knights of Edward I* which states 'Roger Tyrel of Ireland . . . staying in England, nominates attorneys in Ireland 1 May, and has licence to hunt, etc. . . . in his demesne wood of Middlehope, 22 May 1311'. The Roger under present discussion is obviously connected with Middlehope over a number of years, but is nowhere connected with Ireland, whereas the 'Roger Tyrel of Ireland' is evidently the son of Gerald mentioned in the previous chapter, and who is shown not to have any interest in lands in England.)

In 1308 and 1309 Roger was granted custody of the Manor of Lugwardine, Herefordshire, no fewer than three times: firstly in June 1308 because of the idiocy of the holder, John Walraund. John died early in 1309, so the manor reverted to the king who granted it again to Roger Tyrel during the minority of the heir. Later in the year, however, the king's escheator took possession of the property as Roger had 'committed waste on the wood of the Manor of Lugwardine', but once more King Edward re-granted him the custody of the lands, and pardoned him £15 damages and £31 arrears of rent from it.[106]

In his later years Roger held the manor of Easton, Somerset, as a grant for life, by gift of Gilbert de Clare 'for his service', and custody of lands and heirs in Glamorgan held of the same earl.[107] He witnessed several deeds: in 1310 relating to land in Northamptonshire;[108] in 1313 concerning land at Chelmsford and Southwood in Essex;[109] later the same year he attested a deed of Gilbert de Clare;[110] and a further charter of Gilbert de Clare in April 1314.[111] This Roger Tyrel probably died early in 1316, as an enrolment of 21 February committed to Maud, the widow of Gilbert de Clare, 'the keeping of the lands which Roger Tyrel deceased held for life of the said earl's demise in Glamorgan in Wales'.[112]

Heraldry

One of the earliest surviving rolls of arms, dating from the reign of Henry III (1217–1272), lists a Roger Tirel with the following arms: 'Gules, a fess and in chief 3 annulets argent'.[113] (Plate I, 8.) The question is whether these arms, which bear no relation to the 'lion arms' of Roger III, belonged to Roger IIa or Roger IIb. It could be assumed that Roger III had inherited his arms from his father, Roger IIb, and he in turn from his father, Richard I, which would place Roger IIa (of Wormton) with the other arms. On the other hand, it is possible that the main family's arms were altered, a not unknown occurrence in the early days of heraldry.

It has been suggested that the lion arms of Tyrel were derived from those of Talbot,[114] but it seems far more probable that they were based on those of Lacy, with which family they had undoubted associations. There is a recognisable trend for knights to base their own arms on those of their feudal overlords, and 'it may have been usual . . . for feudal lords to confer arms, whether derived from their own or not, upon their tenants on enfeoffment or knighthood'.[115] Thus the second possibility is that Roger IIb bore the annulet arms (at some time between 1217 and 1272) but that he or his son Roger III changed (before the end of the century) to the lion arms modelled on the Lacy coat.

In the church of Dilwyn, Herefordshire, is an alabaster effigy of a knight in armour, bearing on his shield the lion arms of Tyrel, lying in an ogee-arched recess decorated with ball-flower ornamentation. The notes and description in the church leave

doubt as to the date of the effigy and its subject, even suggesting a totally different name, but it is elsewhere asserted that this represents Sir Roger Tyrel who died in 1316,[114] presumably on the grounds that Roger was listed with these arms in 1308. (See later section on Tyrrell Heraldry.) It is not possible, however, to date such a monument with exactitude. The Decorated period of architecture coincided with the 14th century, but great variations exist in its time of development from the Geometric style; whereas cathedrals and great churches demonstrate the trend at an early date, the developed form came much later in the century to many village churches.

At Leominster, the nearest town to Dilwyn, the 14th-century modifications to the church were largely transitional from Geometric to Decorated, and one might expect a like tardiness in adopting the new fashion, and the windows of Dilwyn church bear this out (see Plate 3). From the evidence of the canopy it could well be hypothesised that the monument was equally likely to be to Hugh, who died in 1343, but the style of the armour of the knight's effigy belongs to the Surcoat period of the early part of the century rather than to the Cyclas period coinciding with the second quarter of the century and the death of Hugh. Thus, it would seem that the effigy is of Sir Roger (1316) and the tomb canopy must have been carved by an important stonemason, who here created a monument in the latest architectural style many years ahead of its time in a rural region.

Hugh I (1328–1343)

For some 15 years prior to 1328 there are no recorded references to the name Hugh, which suggests that the mention in that year, wherein Hugh Tyrel 'broke a house' in Derbyshire and 'took away 2 horses, 4 mares, 6 oxen, 7 cows, 315 sheep and 20 swine worth £75',[116] is to Hugh I who occurs yearly thereafter until his death in 1343.

In May 1329 he was granted protection against law suits in his absence 'until a fortnight after midsummer' when 'going beyond seas with the king',[117] while the following year he is described as 'King's Yeoman', and appointed keeper 'for good service' of the Welsh castles of Bulkedynas (probably Dinas Castle, Brecon, built in the time of Edward I) and 'Blenkleveny [?] and the king's lands and forests and chases there'.[118] Several references to these castles occur in the following years: in 1332 Hugh was authorised to spend up to 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) to repair them as necessary, and he finally relinquished his custody of them to Gilbert Talbot in October 1333.[119]

In 1332 he was 'keeper of the Park of Rowley and fermor of the king's manor of Bernes' (Salop), and 'keeper of the park of Clunhir' (Salop).[120] In February 1334 he was given custody of the Castle of Radnor and the manors of Knighton and Presteigne (Herefordshire/Wales border) and the manor of Pembridge (Herefordshire) during the minority of the heir of Edmund, Earl of March,[121] delivering them to Roger the heir in November 1341.[122] During this period he also had the keeping of the manor of 'Longeleye' in Shropshire,[123] and the custody of the manor of Henton in Herefordshire.[123]

Among his duties as king's yeoman Hugh was responsible for finding 30 men-at-arms in North Wales to accompany the king to Ireland in 1332[125] and in 1339 he twice raised bodies of 40 archers with horses in Shropshire, and took them to London and

Ipswich respectively. These archers were each paid 6d. a day as wages on their journey, which took four days from Shropshire to London (about 160 miles).[126] In February 1339 the collectors of customs in the Port of London were directed to allow Hugh to take 40 sacks of wool to Antwerp, and a further 10 sacks in April.[127] In the following year they were similarly ordered to allow him, or his agents, to ship 30 sacks of wool sent from Radnor in Wales to the king in Flanders in aid of the expenses of his chamber.[128] Another commission carried out by Hugh in 1340 was 'the carriage of a canvas castle from the town of Wygemore [Herefordshire] to Wodestock [Oxfordshire], and for making 4 dozen lances, and for the carriage of the same from the town of Hereford to Bedford and London'.[129] The 'canvas castle' must have been a tent, and was probably that used by the king himself on progress across the country. Early in 1340 Hugh, and another, were appointed 'to take Mereduk ap David ap Jevan who lately killed at Lampedervar [in Wales] John de Paylyngton, yeoman of William de Kildesby, king's clerk, when sent by the latter at the king's command from Brabant [in Flanders] to execute certain business of the king in England and Wales . . .'.[130]

Lands

Among the estates of Hugh Tyrel were gifts from the king for services rendered. In 1334 he was granted, for life, lands in Rock and Bredwardine (Herefordshire) and Bernes (Salop),[131] and later the same year received a grant of free warren in all his lands of Middlehope, Bromcroft, Norncott, Heath, Rothale and Aston, co. Salop, and Solers Dilwyn, Rock, Home and Draycote, co. Herefordshire.[132] In 1339 he was holding two acres of meadow in Munslow, Salop, residue of lands held in custody.[133] Hugh probably already held lands in Staffordshire in 1336,[134] and in 1339 he was granted 'for long service' the reversion of the Stewardship of the Forest of Kinfare, Staffs,[135] which came to him in 1342.[136]

Civic Duties

In December 1340 Hugh Tyrell, Knight, was appointed commissioner in Staffordshire and Shropshire for inquiring into 'alleged oppressions and extortions by justices and any other ministers of the king',[137] and this received further mention in 1341,[138] and with reference to investigation of 'homicides'.[139] He was Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset 1341 and 1342,[140] and Escheator in these counties 1341 to 1343.[141]

Sir Hugh was evidently in France in 1339, when he witnessed a deed dated at Valenciennes on 14 September,[142] and he presumably met his death in service with King Edward III on his campaigns, as the Inquisition Post Mortem of his lands in Herefordshire states 'he died beyond seas, in Brittany, on 28 January'.[143] At his death he held land in several counties, viz.:

Dorset—Sturminster Marshal and a quarter of the Hundred of Loosebarrow, jointly with his wife, Margery;
Shropshire—Little Sutton, 'Bernes by Cleobury' and Bromcroft, jointly with his wife;
Herefordshire—Marston Stannet, Rock Bredwardine, Solers Dilwyn, Home by Dilwyn;[143]
Staffordshire—Manors of Kinfar and Storton.[144]

Hugh II (1362–1380)

After the death of his elder brother, John, Hugh came of age in 1363 and inherited his estates which, apart from his father's lands, included those inherited from Bartholomew and Robert Tyrel (*v.s.*) in Compton Martyn, Somerset; Batcombe and Stoke Wake in Dorset; and Tangley, Hampshire, by inheritance from John Wake, his maternal grandfather,[145] together with a house in Shaftesbury, Dorset.[146] Witnessing a Hampshire deed in 1371 he is described as 'Hugh Tirell, Knight',[147] then 'Hugh Tirell, Knight, of Wiltshire' in 1378,[148] and 'Hugh Tyrell, Knight, of the counties of Somerset and Dorset', in 1378.[149]

In 1376 he was a Justice in Dorset, inquiring into the looting of the ship *La Welfare* out of Plymouth, wrecked at Kimmeridge in Dorset,[150] and into neglect of the king's castle of Corfe where 'through default of keeping and good rule a dangerous state of things exists at the present time'.[151] He acted on further commissions in 1379 and 1380, the first to enquire into 'divers trespasses in county Southampton [Hampshire] committed against the people by men-at-arms, archers and others on the king's service in the present expedition to Brittany, in taking without payment horses, oxen, cows, cocks, hens, geese, victuals and other goods',[152] and the second, a commission of array in Wiltshire 'to equip all men of the county between the ages of 16 and 60' in preparation for invasion by the French.[153]

In May 1377, when attack by the French was expected, Hugh Tyrell, as keeper of Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, was instructed 'to compel men on the island to be intendant and continually abide upon the safeguard and defence thereof, not suffering them or any of them to leave the same in order to appear before the king in his sessions upon any pretence'.[154] He was already engaged on a commission of array in Wiltshire,[155] and two months later was instructed 'to keep ever arrayed the men-at-arms and archers to resist foreign invasion . . . causing beacons to be set up in the usual places to give notice of the arrival of the enemy'.[156] When the attack came 'on the 21st. August, the French with a great many galleys landed in the Isle of Wight, and burnt divers towns there, and indeed took it all, except the Castle of Carisbrooke, which being gallantly defended by Sir Hugh Tyrell the Governor, a Knight of Essex, they were repulsed from there with considerable loss'. Thus James Tyrell records the story,[157] though wrongly attributing Sir Hugh to the Essex family. Apart from all the foregoing evidence, there is no record of a Hugh of Essex anywhere around these times. Without belittling Hugh's defence of the castle, it should be pointed out that Carisbrooke was, by its position and defences, virtually impregnable, and would certainly not have fallen to a lightly-armed band of French marauders.

Sir Hugh, as we have seen, married twice: first, Isabel, the widow of Walter atte Bergh, who died 25 October 1369,[57] and subsequently Katherine, who survived him and who, by 1382, was married for the second time, to Sir Bernard Brocas.[58] Hugh died in 1380,[158] without issue by either marriage,[61] bringing to an end this line of the Tyrell family.

The *History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire* relates under Dilwyn (p. 92): 'Tyrells Court belonged to a family of that name for several generations. The Heiress, Joanna, da. of Sir Hugh Tyrell (6th. in descent from Sir Randall Tyrell, Lord of Tyrells), married John de St. Owen, in the reign of Edward III. The House, which was pulled down about twenty years ago, had a curious carving in the wainscot

representing a man being killed by an arrow—tradition asserted that it commemorated the death of a member of the family who was shot while entering his house . . .'.

Such is the story, to which little credence can be given. The pedigree side has already been dealt with, and as for the house—demolished about 1850—it does not seems probable that this had existed from the mid or early 14th century; apart from a few examples of richer buildings the medieval hall-house had long since vanished. Perhaps the strangest thing about this tale is the 'curious carving on the wainscot', and the observation that a man killed by an arrow, associated with the name Tyrell, did not immediately suggest to the author the name of William Rufus. On such an enigmatic note it seems fitting to close this description of what was an important branch of the Tyrell family, but which has passed into oblivion leaving so many questions tantalisingly unanswered.

Chapter Five

BEDFORDSHIRE; HAMPSHIRE AND DORSET; DEVON AND CORNWALL; OTHER COUNTIES; 'EAST ANGLIA'

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER we followed a clearly discernible line of Tyrells emanating from the Welsh border area, from the beginning of the 13th century through succeeding generations to its eclipse with the death of Hugh II in 1380. However, there were doubtless many Tyrells living in that part of the country descended from younger sons of the same stock. Some have been met with in this survey, and suggestions made for their placing in the family tree, but it is reasonable to suppose that for every one recorded there would be one or two others who passed through this world in complete historical anonymity.

Acceptance of this fundamental assertion is necessary in assessing the position of the 'extended family' of Tyrells two or three centuries after the Norman Conquest. Thus the emergence of apparently separate branches in different parts of the country can be seen as the likely rise in status of one descended in an undocumented line from a younger son.

In feudal times power and wealth were rooted in the land, and the aim of every landless knight was the acquisition of estates from which to draw the means of his existence. Unlike the feudal lords of France, the early Norman kings of England, together with their subject tenants, saw the material advantages of primogeniture: for the king, a knight's fee would provide the services of one knight if maintained intact, but could not supply fractions of a knight if sub-divided among many sons; for the landholder, apportionment of estates between all his children could result only in the rapid decline of the family from its position in the social scale. Thus the practice in England of younger sons being compelled to go out and make their own way as churchmen, lawyers, merchants and so on, created a middle-class linking the aristocracy more closely with the common people, and paved the way for the great constitutional reforms of later years.

In the formative years of Norman-English society it is probably true to say that preferment was *always* gained by 'knowing the right people', as there existed otherwise little or no means of advancement. The chief barons derived their estates and power from the king; upon them depended the minor barons, who in turn were courted and supported by the landed knights, whose hangers-on were lesser gentry—the younger sons of kith and kin.

Maintaining the social position of the family by primogeniture made available greater opportunities even to landless younger sons, who could be introduced through the good offices of the family's patrons into positions of administration in a higher grade of society, whereby they in turn could obtain manors or estates as reward for

their services. The inherent danger of feudal patronage to the landed gentry lay in his double loyalty, and while all was well as long as the patron was on good terms with the king, his position became invidious when the overlord defaulted from his oath of fealty to the crown. Should the knight stand on his principles (if indeed he held them) of allegiance to his overall sovereign he would certainly be immediately dispossessed of all his estates by the overlord. He could survive the issue with his lands intact only if his patron was himself so powerful that the king could not afford to alienate him and his connections by confiscating his properties.

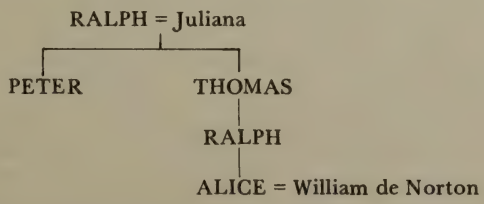
It is apparent from the records that the Tyrells, following Walter's marriage with Adeliz de Clare, maintained a close connection with that family, one of the most powerful in the land during the subsequent two centuries, and by virtue of the Clare patronage many of them gained position and reward. We have noted connections between the 'Welsh border' Tyrells and the Clares, and surmised that following this patronage they had gone westward to Ireland in the wake of the invasion. In the ensuing section further references indicate that other branches of the family were similarly connected, suggesting that there was a fairly close relationship between the several lines which appear separate and distinct only because the missing links are unrecorded or unrecognisable.

The old adage, 'know a man by his friends' is particularly valid when applied to the restricted society of feudal days. Social contact was very limited, and so the few families of equivalent status in their area tended to form a constant grouping, supporting one another in various litigations, witnessing each other's wills and documents, and, of course, providing partners for inter-marriage. Such family or friendship links could extend across the country in the wake of migrant younger sons and information regarding the kith and kin of one particular man or his branch of the family might make apparent a relationship between that and another geographically-separated branch.

Although a few tenuous threads of this nature will appear in this section, they are limited in the assistance they give in unravelling early family relationships, though further clarification might result from research into families showing, or suggesting, some connection with the Tyrells.

The Bedfordshire Tyrells

From the early 13th to the early 14th centuries, there is clear indication of a distinct line of Tyrells at Wilden in Bedfordshire; also holding some land at Great Gransden in Huntingtonshire:



There is no evidence to show where Ralph I originated, or when he appeared on the scene, but it is assumed that his rise to prominence lay through the Clares.

When Richard Coeur de Lion came to the throne of England, he elevated to wealth and power William the Marshal, his father's faithful and doughty warrior, despite the insult and humiliation the latter had put upon the king when he had spared his life. Much of William's subsequent wealth derived from Richard's giving him in marriage a crown ward, Isabel, who was the daughter and heiress of the 2nd Clare, Earl of Pembroke, 'Strongbow', the invader of Ireland. Their daughter, Isabel, married her quarter-cousin, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester who, with his father, Richard, was among the barons of Magna Carta in 1215.

The barons' armed revolt was not forgiven by King John who at his death the following year, was endeavouring to defeat this opposition. William the Marshal remained loyal to the king, and supported by a strong following of the aristocracy and a body of John's mercenaries, was able to hold the balance, and with John's sudden demise he maintained his loyalty to the nine-year-old Henry, his son, having him crowned at Gloucester, and reluctantly (he was then aged 70) undertaking the regency.

Ralph Tyrell came to prominence during the internecine strife, following the accession of Henry III, probably because of it, and because of his association with the main participants. In 1224 he was noted as Constable of Windsor Castle,[2] while a more detailed record in December 1226 shows him to have been constable of the castle for nine years and three parts of the tenth year, receiving 2s. a day (knights had 1s. a day: a horseman-sergeant 6d., and crossbowmen 3½d.[3] This suggests that Ralph was granted the position early in 1217, within about six months of Henry III coming to the throne, when preferment would be given to loyal supporters of the crown, and he could then be under the patronage of William the Marshal and his Clare relations.

Around 1222 the estates of William de St. Remy were seised as 'the lands of a Norman', and the custody of an estate worth one tenth of a knight's fee in Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire., was granted to Ralph Tyrel.[4] Elsewhere, it is recorded that in 1224 he received a grant 'for as long as the king pleased' of lands in Wilden, Bedfordshire.[5] Ralph forfeited these estates as an adherent of Fulc de Bréauté,[6] but they were restored to him before long. In 1228 his Huntingdonshire estate consisted of '4 virgates and 19 acres of land, and the rent of 25s. 6d., 2lbs. pepper and pair of spurs, in Great Gransden, Hardwick and Leycock'.[7]

He was confirmed in his Wilden estate of half a knight's fee in 1232, when it was stated that 'in the event of its restoration to the heirs of the original owners Ralph Tirell or his heirs was to receive a reasonable exchange in wards and escheats'.[8] At about the same time he received custody of lands in Pevensey, Sussex,[9] and in Northamptonshire.[10] Ralph was evidently punished for his adherence to Fulc de Bréauté by temporary forfeiture of his lands, but his early restitution, the fact that he continued to hold his post as Constable of Windsor Castle, and his increasing prosperity and employment by the king in a position of great trust, indicate some other patronage, which I can only surmise to have been from the Clare family. This seems to be borne out by the record in 1228 when the king restored to him the lands at Great Gransden 'at the instance of Gilbert, Count of Gloucester and Herts.'[11]

Service to the King

In 1228, 'going on the king's message to parts beyond the sea', he was granted nine marks (£6) for expenses;[12] in 1229 and 1230 he had 'letters of relief from law whilst abroad with the king',[13] and in 1230 he was responsible for taking £300 to the king for his expenses.[14] The year 1232 saw Ralph Tyrel being sent in company with Roger de Clare to escort Margaret, the wife of Hugh de Burgh, under safe conduct,[15] and in a further entry he is described as 'the king's knight' carrying letters to the treasury to receive £200 which he is to take to the king.[16]

In May 1234, the castles in Ireland late of Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (son of William the Marshal) were committed to him in custody,[17] and in June he was ordered to hand them over to Gilbert Marshal, Richard's brother.[18] Two entries in 1236 inform us that Ralph had then died: his land in Wilden was put into the custody of his widow Juliana 'for the sustenance of her and her boys', until the right heir 'who is in Ireland' should return to England and do homage for his inheritance.[19]

A rather curious reference to Ralph intrudes in 1231, which seems at variance with the other facts. (It is not mentioned at all by the *Victoria County Histories* for either Bedfordshire or Huntingdonshire. Neither of them records Ralph's death in 1236, although they give this information in regard to his successors.) This states that 'Juetta who was the wife of Ralph Tyrel petitions against Cecilia de St. Remy for the third part of three parts of a virgate in Wilden as her dower, and Cecilia avers that the marriage was not consummated ('Juetta numquan fuit predicto Radulfo matrimonialiter copulata').[20]

In 1224 Cecilia de St. Remy had received her dower and the wardship of the St. Remy coheirs in Wilden[21] (as widow of William de St. Remy): these were evidently two daughters, Mary and Elisabeth.[22] The fact that 'Juetta' was seeking her dower from Cecilia suggests that she came from the St. Remy family, as the dower in this case must mean a marriage portion, provided by the wife's family. It could not be a widow's dower, despite the phrase 'who *was* the wife of Ralph Tyrel' which normally means 'the widow of', unless there was another Ralph Tyrel, also of Wilden, who had recently died. As there are no references to two of them at this time, or mention of 'Ralph the elder' or 'Ralph the younger', it seems clear that there was but the one. Nor could she be a first wife of Ralph, who had been divorced (if that were possible), because we know that Ralph had an heir of full age in 1236 who must, therefore, have been born before 1215; and not to Juetta if her marriage had not been consummated in 1231. Assuming the unlikely possibility of her being 'divorced' from Ralph before 1214, it is inconceivable that she would wait for at least 17 years to claim her marriage portion. It seems, therefore, that the only way to account for this situation is to infer two mistakes. Firstly, the clerk who made the entry in the roll thought Juetta was claiming a widow's dower and not a marriage portion, so he inadvertently entered her as the widow of Ralph. Secondly, that the separate translators of these two rolls have produced two women where there should only be one. Ancient records were written in a shorthand form, wherein one or two letters surmounted by a squiggle sufficed for each word, and although there were certain standardised squiggles these were not universally used. An original abbreviated name of Jũa might therefore be interpreted by two different people as Juetta and Juliana respectively.

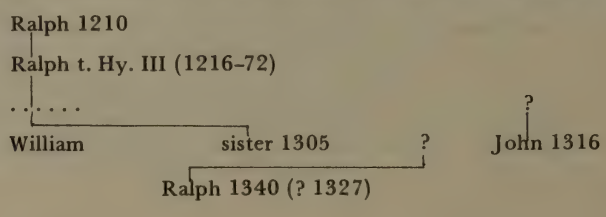
If we accept this explanation, then a reasonable solution becomes apparent: Ralph's first wife (name unknown), the mother of his sons Peter and Thomas, died before 1230, and in that year he married Juliana (Juetta), probably of the St. Remy family. Cecilia was perhaps tardy in producing the marriage settlement, so Juliana sued for it, but Cecilia, being reluctant to part with the land, alleged that the marriage had not been consummated. The marriage might have been performed by proxy during Ralph's absence on the king's service, or Cecilia might be suggesting this merely because they had been married for several months and there was no sign of a pregnancy.

When Ralph died in 1236, and Juliana was temporarily granted custody of the estates, her boys were referred to as 'pueros', not 'filios', suggesting that they were small boys, which would be in keeping with their having been born between 1231 and 1236. A further pointer to the plausibility of this version is the reference in 1280/81 to Ralph the younger and Ralph the elder.[23] Both held lands in Wilden, but the elder had the less, which would be consonant with his inheriting a small acreage, part of his mother's marriage settlement, as one of Juliana's 'little boys' of 1236, perhaps now aged 47 or forty-eight. Ralph the younger, then about 32, was the son of Thomas, and had inherited the half knight's fee in Wilden.

Origins

In the previous chapter the name of Ralph was rejected from the early part of the 'Welsh border' Tyrel pedigree for want of anyone bearing the name in that area, but a 13th-century book of Herefordshire manors introduces a Ralph.[24] This states under Brinsop: 'The earliest lord of Brinsop, of whom we have any notice, is Ralph Torell or Tirell, who was a benefactor to the Priory of Wormesley in 1210; his son of the same name confirmed the gift in the reign of Henry III. Upon the death of William Torell, grandson of the last-named possessor, his sister became his heir, and brought Prinsop in dower to her husband, Adam Lucas, 3rd. son of Roger Lucas, in 1305' (Biscoe's MS.). But it seems to have reverted to the Torells, for in the first year of Edward III's reign (1340) Ralph Torell was returned as holding two hides of land by military service, 'de Dno. Herberto filio Petri [Lib. Scut']. .

Such a story without references cannot be relied upon: nor does the glaring error of 'the first year of Edward III's reign [1340]. . .' promote confidence in the author. (1340 was Edward III's first regnal year as self-nominated king of France, but his 14th as king of England, and this latter form of dating was always used in English documentation.) The only trace of Brinsop with a Tirell (or Torell) connection which I have encountered refers to a John Torell in 1316, whose estate was declared to be held in 1346 by Richard Talbot (*Feudal Aids,* Vol. II, pp. 385, 391), nor is there any mention of a Ralph (or for that matter a William), in connection with Herefordshire, so I am loathe to accept this family as authenticated. It is apparent that a line:



does not match with the Herefordshire-based family previously reviewed, nor with that of Bedfordshire under present discussion, except in so far as it could be another branch, deriving perhaps from a younger son.

Returning to Ralph Tyrell of Bedfordshire, there is no evidence of his origins, but he possibly derived from a branch settled in Yorkshire, where several names occur in the late 12th century. Among these references [25] are several to a John Tyrel and his brother Ralph (invariably written in this order, so the inference is that Ralph was the younger brother) as witnesses to a series of grants and charters. Each deed has been dated only to within about 10 to 20 years, so that the largest possible time range covered by them is 1180 to 1225. As they all overlap the period 1195 to 1217, it is reasonable to assume that they were all executed between these dates.

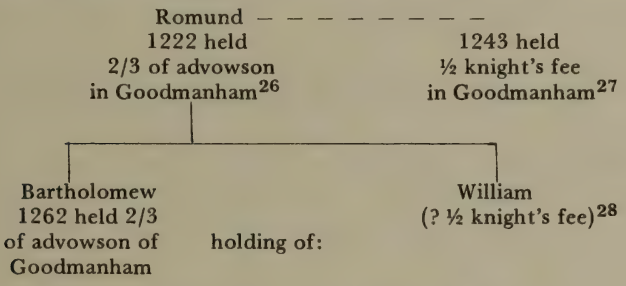
These Tyrells, associated with Yorkshire, with the approximate dates derived from the charters, are:

Andrew	Philip	Adam	Roger
1152–1171 and 1180–1200	1160–1180	1160–1171	1172–1181

Baldwin	John	Ralph
1188–1217	1185–1217	1180–1217

Thomas	John (clerk)
? *c.* 1250	*c.* 1250

To these can be added a few other names derived from other sources:



Such a paucity of information must preclude any attempt to align these names into an ordered tree, but all these Tyrells occurring within the same county over a continuous period of about a century are presumed to belong to the same well established family. A local series of documents bearing these various names, which cannot be traced in the royal records for the period, serves as a useful reminder that many other names have undoubtedly been lost simply because they were not on some form of record.

The names of Andrew, Philip and Adam do not occur anywhere else at this time, but a Roger was among the early 'Welsh border' Tyrells and might be the same man. At the same time, the litigation concerning Little Marcle in Herefordshire mentioned a Baldwin as attorney in the case. His surname was not mentioned, but perhaps he was Baldwin Tyrell, a relative, and therefore possibly the same as he who occurs in Yorkshire. Although no other John appears elsewhere, his brother Ralph is a possible

candidate for association with another part of the country. It must be allowed that he could be the first Ralph of Brinsop, Herefordshire, if that line could be substantiated, but he could equally well be Ralph of Wilden, Bedfordshire. It seems probable that this latter Ralph would have been of mature years to be made Constable of Windsor Castle in 1217, and his position of trust in handling the king's monies after 1230 would surely not be available to any but a man of advanced years and long service. If Ralph of Yorkshire was in his twenties at the time of witnessing the grants, 1195–1217 (born, say, about 1170) he would have been in his late forties when Henry III came to the throne, and about 66 when he died in that monarch's service. Further support for this theory is suggested by the Thomas mentioned as witnessing a Yorkshire grant somewhere about 1250, who could be equated with Thomas, the second son of Ralph of Wilden; apparently the only contemporary one of that name.

No firm conclusions can be drawn from these speculations which allow us to entertain the idea that the Bedfordshire Tyrells may have come from the Yorkshire family through Ralph, and that they were possibly connected by Roger and Baldwin to the 'Welsh border' line of Tyrells.

The Descendants of Ralph

The heir to Ralph, who was in Ireland when his father died in 1236, was evidently Peter, who was holding the half knight's fee in Wilden at the time of the Testa,[29] and who personally provided the recognised service of half a knight for a campaign in Wales in the summer of 1245.[30] He probably died in 1246, as in that year homage was accepted of Thomas Tyrell[31] who about the same time confirmed, as lord of the fee, a grant of land in Wilden to Bushmead Priory,[32] in which he is described as son of Ralph Tyrell.

Thomas held this same fee for the next 18 years, 'by finding one esquire ['armiger'] with hauberk, sword and lance for 40 days [i.e., annually] at his own cost in the king's army',[33] and died in 1264. An inquisition post mortem, held at Bedford on Monday, 28 July,[33] revealed that 'in his lifetime' Thomas had alienated some part of his holding of a half knight's fee in Wilden and Bolnhurst, 'of which the heir is bound to warrant a third part to the feoffees for his mother's dower'. This sounds as if he had created an estate 'to the use of', or in trust for his wife, which must have been with the king's licence or else the lands would have escheated to the crown, or a penalty been imposed upon them. Mention is also made of a few acres of land in the village of Crawley, Buckinghamshire (on the Bedford side of Newport Pagnell), being part or whole of his wife's marriage portion, which suggests that she might have come from that area. Ralph is declared to be his son, and heir when he attained the age of 21 years.

We discover shortly afterwards, that Thomas's widow was named Sarra, from a grant by King Henry to John de Sonevill and his two brothers, 'knights who had been disinherited in Gascony', and his nephew, of the wardship of the land and heirs of Thomas, and the marriages of the heir and of Sarra.[34] That is to say, they had all the rights and uses of the lands during the minority of the heir, and the profits of any marriage agreements they could make for Sarra and her son. A further inquisition was held at Bedford on 23 February 1270, at which it was declared that 'Ralph Tyrel is the heir of Thomas, and was 21 years old at Michaelmas last';[35] (i.e., on 29 September 1269).

Before Ralph came of age, and the lands were still held in wardship, we encounter one of the more human and mundane events, the record of which serves to remind us that documented names are also people who had their triumphs and their tragedies. 'After vespers on 24 April 1269, John, son of William le Wyte of Wilden, aged 12, was watching his father's lambs in a garden in Wilden formerly belonging to Thomas Tirel of Wilden. He took off his clothes, entered a stream in the garden to bathe, and drowned by misadventure'.[36]

Ralph II

The next reference to Ralph is in 1280/81 where two inquisitions tell us, firstly, that Hugh Wygod committed felony on 18 March 1280 ('Monday after St. Patrick'), and therefore the messuage and 12 acres land in Wilden which he held have escheated to the crown (these were held by him of 'Ralph Tyrel the younger'.);[37] the second one, 16 February 1281, states that the lands of Hugh Wygod have now been in the king's hand for a year and a day and more, and the said Hugh held a messuage and 11 acres of land of Ralph Tyrel the younger, and 2 acres of Ralph Tyrel the elder.[38] (By feudal law felony by a tenant caused the land to pass to the lord of whom held. This 'right of escheat' was confirmed by Magna Carta, with the proviso that the land should first be held by the crown for a year and a day, so that the king should have some profit from the felony.) The lands had *not* been held by the crown for the requisite period—clearly an administrative oversight—while the fact that 12 acres of 1280 became 11 acres in 1281 also indicates the difficulty in those days of getting the facts of the situation. In these references, Ralph the younger is evidently the mesne lord of Wilden, and Ralph the elder could well be his step-uncle—son of Ralph I and his second wife Juliana (Juetta).

An entry in 1286 records 'Ralph Tyrel who had his service with the king has his scutage in Co. Bedford'.[39] At that time he was making a money payment for his half knight's fee in Wilden, instead of supplying the service in person or by proxy, but the inference is that previously he had himself served with the king's army. If so, he probably took part in Edward's conquest of Wales, where the native longbow proved itself so effective against the armoured feudal knight that it was adopted by the English armies, and wrought havoc among the armoured knights of France at the Battle of Crecy, 60 years later.

King Edward's Scottish campaigns commenced shortly after this, and continued until Robert Bruce's victory at Bannockburn in 1314 over the army of Edward II, but there is no mention of Ralph Tyrel taking any further part in military affairs, nor being involved with administration. Presumably he spent the rest of his days quietly running his estates in Bedfordshire.

The inquisition after the death of Thomas in 1264 noted that he had alienated a good deal of his lands, so his son, Ralph, was left with that much less from which to draw his living, while in 1286/7 Ralph is described as holding 'half the township of Wilden'—the remaining half being the property of John de Pavenham and John Ridel —and is declared to have alienated much of his lands to tenants without licence.[40] In the 1297 taxation he was assessed at Wilden at a value similar to dozens of peasant holdings, the details being: '1 heifer 4s. 6d., 1 bullock 4s. 6d., 1 qtr. wheat 3s. 4d., 2 qtrs. oats each 18d., forage 5d., total 15s. 9d.'.[41] It seems that all the land he had

remaining to his own use at this time was 80 acres, as shown by another, contemporary, record which assesses him for the same sum, but with slightly differing values for crops: 'Wilden. 80 acres: 2 draught beasts, 3 qtrs. corn, hay 5d., total 15s. 9d.'.[42]

In 1302/3 Ralph held the same fee, being listed with John de Pavenham and John Ridel as holding the town of Wilden as one knight's fee of the honor of Peverel,[43] but before 1307 he had parted with a further 15 acres of land and rents worth 30s. 4½d. to William de Norton evidently as dower for his daughter Alice. In 1313, William de Norton and his wife Alice were pardoned for acquiring this 'without the late king's licence' (hence pre 1307), and confirmed in their holding;[44] and de Norton occurs in the feudal assessment of 1316 for Wilden.[45]

The Huntingdon estate at Great Gransden, to which Ralph I was reinstated in 1228 at the instance of Gilbert de Clare, descended in the family until the time of Ralph II, and in the I.P.M. of the later Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucestershire and Hertfordshire (great-grandson of the aforementioned), who was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. Great Gransden is listed as 'a half fee held by Adam Gereland, and the heirs of Ralph Tyrel'.[46] The account of Great Gransden in the *V.C.H.* for Huntingdonshire mistakenly infers from this that Ralph was then dead;[47] but in fact he died nearly four years later, as is shown by his own I.P.M. dated 15 April 1318. Since the land at Great Gransden was not subsequently held by his daughter and heiress, Alice, it seems probable that Ralph had alienated the property at some earlier date; possibly, from the reference to 'the heirs of Ralph Tyrel', as dower for another daughter. There is no trace of an inquisition in Huntingdonshire after his death, but that in Bedfordshire declared that 'he held of the king in chief by knight's service in Wilden;—a messuage, 27 acres arable, 2 acres meadow, 1 acre pasture, and 12d. and ½ lb. pepper rent. His daughter Alice, wife of William de Norton, aged 40 is his heir'.[48]

This brought to an end the line of Tyrels in Bedfordshire, and although others occur at odd times in later years they probably all belong to the Essex family. During the active period of this branch, two other names occur: a Juliana Tirel was assessed at 14s. in the 1297 Taxation,[49] for land in the town of Dunstable, when Ralph was valued at 15s. 9d. at Wilden (might she be a spinster daughter of Ralph I and Juliana?), and in the 1309/10 subsidy a Robert Tyrel carried an assessment of 2s. 9½d. in Eversholt[50] (*cf.* Ralph's 2s. for Wilden). Although one imagines them to belong to the same family there is no indication of their placing within it.

The one 'oddity' is a John Tyrel assessed in the village of Goldington, Bedfordshire, in the subsidy of 1332,[51] who might be identified with a John Tyrill, owner in 1333 of 'a capital messuage, 14 acres of land, a grove containing 1½ acres, and 6d. yearly rent of assise, at Doddinghurst in Essex'.[52] There appears to be no other mention of a John in this area of England around these dates, but in other parts of the country:

one was accused of trespass and deer stealing in Sussex in 1331;[53]
another stole two horses in Winchester, Hampshire, in 1336;[56]
and a John Tirel was holding land at Tenbury, Worcestershire, in 1342.[55]

Twenty years earlier there occurs a collection of references to the name of John. In 1314 John Tyrel of Winchester, together with others, was arraigned on complaint of the Abbot of Hyde for damage and assault; they 'approached armed to the abbot's Manor of la Breton, Co. Southampton, broke the doors of the Manor, entered and carried away his goods, broke the sluices and carried away the timber—by which

breach of the sluices and removal of the timber 100 acres of meadow have been inundated,—and they assaulted his men and servants'.[56] The deer stealing of 1331 and the horse stealing of 1336 are in the same tradition and may suggest the same man in each case.

Also in 1314 John Tyrel Kt. was associated with Roger Tyrel Kt. (see Roger III of 'Welsh borders'), as witnesses to the charter of Gilbert de Clare, which suggests that he might be related to the same family.[57] Another John, possibly the same one, is mentioned in 1315 as holding 1 virgate of land (i.e., about 30 acres) in Tenbury, Worcestershire, by homage and suit of court of Robert de Clifford, second Baron of Clifford in Herefordshire, killed at Bannockburn.[58]

Then in 1316 a John Torell is noted at Brinsop, Herefordshire,[59] holding what is referred to later (1346) as one fee.[60] Previously it has been argued whether 'Torell' should be regarded as synonymous with 'Tyrell'; it seems reasonable here to suppose that this John Torell was a separate person from the John Tyrel mentioned at the same time, and therefore that he should be excluded from the field.

There is a direct connection between the Johns of Tenbury in 1315 and 1342, though whether the second is the same man or the son of the first one is impossible to say, and in the absence of other candidates the probability is that the 1314 John, associated with Roger (of Dilwyn, etc.), was the same as the John of Tenbury.

With regard to the John, or Johns, of Winchester—again it could be the same man or father and son; there is no evidence to suggest equation with him of Worcestershire; the specific description of 'John of Winchester' appears to be distinguishing him from others of the same name, and therefore ruling out this possibility. He possibly died within a few years after the mention in 1336, as in 1352 there occurs a reference in a rent roll of the college at Winchester to: '5s. of rent from Maud la Roo out of a tenement sometime of John Tyrel in the entering in of Shuldewroght-strete by the High Street'.[61]

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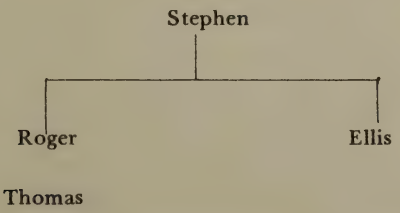
Hampshire and Dorset

During the process of disentangling the early members of the 'Welsh border' family it seems probable that there was another branch in the south, headed at that time by:



The Dorset land in Chardstock, mentioned in connection with Stephen and Roger in 1200, recurs in 1224 and 1225 with Roger and his brother Ellis, but then disappears

from the scene. Roger's interest in Catherington, Hants., evidently descended to Thomas, his son, who was holding it as one knight's fee in 't. Hy. III' (? *c.* 1235).[62] In 1241, Alice, the widow of Thomas, was granted dower of land there,[63] while the previous year she had been assigned dower in Chiltington, Sussex, from her late husband's estate there.[64]

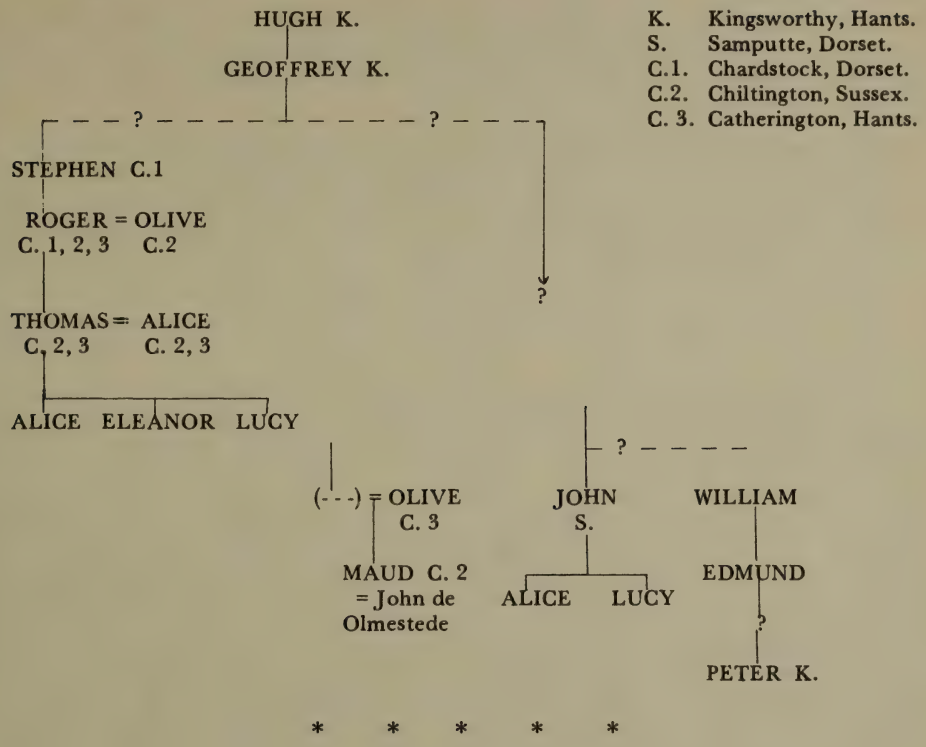
This latter had been held in 1212 by Roger as a knight's fee,[65] and was given in 1229 to Olive, his widow, 'of her inheritance'.[66] Presumably by 1240 Olive must also have died and the land reverted to her son Thomas. He evidently died without a male heir, as it was declared that the king held the marriages of Alice, and his three daughters, Alice, Eleanor and Lucy.[67]

In 1280 a certain Olive Tyrell was holding half a knight's fee in Catherington,[68] but although she was obviously not the widow of Thomas, as suggested by the Hampshire *V.C.H.*, it is difficult to see how she fits into the family tree. She must have been some relative of Thomas to have inherited this property, and what is more, she appears also to have owned a right in the Sussex estate at Chiltington, as John de Olmestede, who died in 1312, is shown to be holding land there of the inheritance of his late wife, Maud, daughter and heir of Olive Tyrel.[69] He, incidentally, also held land in Cambridgeshire and Essex.

In 1297 the sheriff of Dorset was ordered to release from prison, after taking a fine, William Tyrel of Samputte (? Sandpits) and his son, Edmund, who had been incarcerated for taking lands in Samputte from Matthew de Wambrok, Alice, daughter of John Tyrel and Lucy, her sister.[70] The evidence indicates that John Tyrel died two years earlier, when the escheator took charge of his lands, though this entry does not describe their location.[71] William was clearly not the son of John, whose heirs seem to be his daughters, but may have been a brother. He was possibly a violent character who appears on several occasions in previous years: in 1267 a William Tyrel (of unknown domicile) was pardoned for the death of Matthew de Shepley;[72] two years later there was an inquiry in Somerset to determine 'whether William Tyrel in throwing a knife at a pig, killed Maud daughter of John Felawe, his niece, by misadventure',[73] and in 1279 there was an order to the Justices of the Bench to deliver, to bail, William Tirel and others, imprisoned in the Fleet, for the death of Richard de Caverswell.[74]

In dealing with Hampshire it will be recalled that the Pipe Rolls indicated a Hugh at Kingsworthy from 1158 to 1166, who was succeeded by (? his son) Geoffrey, who might have been ancestors of Stephen and Roger. A mention of Kingsworthy occurs in the post mortem inquisition of Edmund Mortimer, which relates that a Peter Tyrel was holding from him there in 1304.[75] It is curious that there had been no reference to this place in the intervening years, but this may only mean that there had been nothing of note, and it therefore follows that the descendants of Stephen probably had no interest in Kingsworthy. Peter might then be descended from Geoffrey in a collateral branch, from which Olive Tyrel could also have come.

Suggested Pedigrees



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Devon and Cornwall

Tyrells penetrated this corner of England by the early 13th century, but references are few until about 1280, after which there is a considerable number of names reported in both counties for the next hundred years or so. Most of these, however, are not very informative and the evidence is insufficient to allow any decided conjectures on their relationships, though one must suppose that they were interconnected.

Devon

In 1204 Henry Tirel was a witness in a plea of novel disseissin of land in Harestone,[76] and 10 years later Richard Tirel was attached for an inquiry concerning inheritance.[77] Seventy years go by—about three generations—before the next names turn up, and between 1284 and 1346 there are glimpses of several Tyrells, a few of whom can be lineally designated.

1284–86. Roger and Richard Tyrel, together with Joel de Uppecote, were assessed for the town of Uppecote.[78] At the same date 'the heirs of Henry Tirel' were shown as holding the town of Wollerigg as half a fee, and the town of Westecote and La Hachen as one fee.[79] John Tyrel is recorded, in 1292, holding the Manor of Wollerigg

by service of two knights' fees,[80] but 11 years later, in 1303, it was said that 'the heirs of John' held half a fee in Wollerigg.[81] The exact extent of the lands and their changes of ownership are impossible to reconcile, as each entry manifests but a part of the whole; the Wollerigg half fee of 1284/6 held by the 'heirs of Henry' is evidently the same as that held by the 'heirs of John' in 1303, but both fall considerably short of the two knights' fees of 1292.

Wollerigg does not occur in the family again to give a clue to relationships, but two other estates appear in 1301. The first was in 'Alfardisworthy, Sessecote, Scotteworthy and Euastapel' and was then held by 'the heirs of Hamlet Tyrel' as one fee;[82] in 1346 it was in the hands of Richard Tyrel and listed as a half fee,[83] (again a considerable discrepancy between the two assessments). This Richard also had one twelfth part of a fee in Northlegh,[84] and evidently another half fee in Honeychurch, as he was mentioned as the ancient holder of this in an assessment of 1428.[85]

The other land occurring in 1303 was a quarter fee in Helegodynd, coupled with the name of Thomas Tyrel,[86] and this is mentioned again in 1346 when John Tyrel held a fortieth part of a fee which Thomas Tyrel formerly held.[87] (Apparently only a tenth of Thomas's holding!)

Also in 1346 a half fee in Aysclegh and a half fee in Sprey were both attributed to one Joan Tyrel,[88] but it seems this could be an error for John since the 1428 assessments refer to John as the one-time holder of Sprey,[89] while the half fee in Aysclegh was then held as two quarter fees, one referring to Joan and the other to John as the ancient owners.[90]

Another Thomas Tyrel was accused, with others, of having 'driven away horses and carried away goods etc.' at Legham, Haccombe and Hoo in the County of Devon in 1348;[91] and a more respectable character, Henry Tyrell, was county coroner in 1384.[92] The following year he lodged a complaint that William de Asthorp Kt. 'and other evildoers with arms in manner of war, repaired to the Mersshe, Co. Devon, by force of arms and broke his close and houses there, pursued the complainant to slay him, burned his houses, and assaulted, beat and wounded his men and servants'.[93] In 1387 'certain lands in Excestr, Toppenham and Forde, Co. Devon' were committed to his keeping for 10 years,[94] and he was last listed as county coroner again in 1390.[95]

One man standing out from all the other rather shadowy figures in this county is Hervey Tyrel, who was in the limelight from 1318 to 1347. Although he held positions of importance and responsibility for practically the whole of this time, he was far from being a blameless character as the records will show; one wonders how he 'got away with it'.

In 1318 he was nominated with another man as attorney in England for Thomas de Carew who was going to Ireland,[96] which indicates a training in the law, and suggests that he might be a younger son of the family. Six years later he was Queen's bailiff of the port of Sutton Vautort, or Sutton upon Plymouth, 'on the confines of the counties of Devon and Cornwall' (the old name for Plymouth, which lies on the Devon side of the Tamar estuary, was Sutton, at the mouth of the River Plym). It was said that, while holding Queen Isabel's court there as her bailiff, Hervey was assaulted by men who 'carried away £40 in money of the farms of her Manor of Tremeton and of her port of the water of Sutton upon Plymouth'.[97]

But in 1327 complaint was made by Guichard de Ion that 'Hervey Tirel broke his house at Carswell, Co. Devon, carried away his goods and assaulted his servants,[98] and in 1331 'Hervey Tyrel of Toumern, and others, were convicted of carrying away certain merchandise lately brought into the ports of Penwyth, Polwragh and Loghen and adjudged to be wreck'.[99] His lawless career continued into the following year, when an inquiry was ordered into 'alleged oppressions by the sheriff and his clerks and ministers, as well as by Hervey Tyrel and others, their adherents',[100] following which he is not noticed for about nine years.

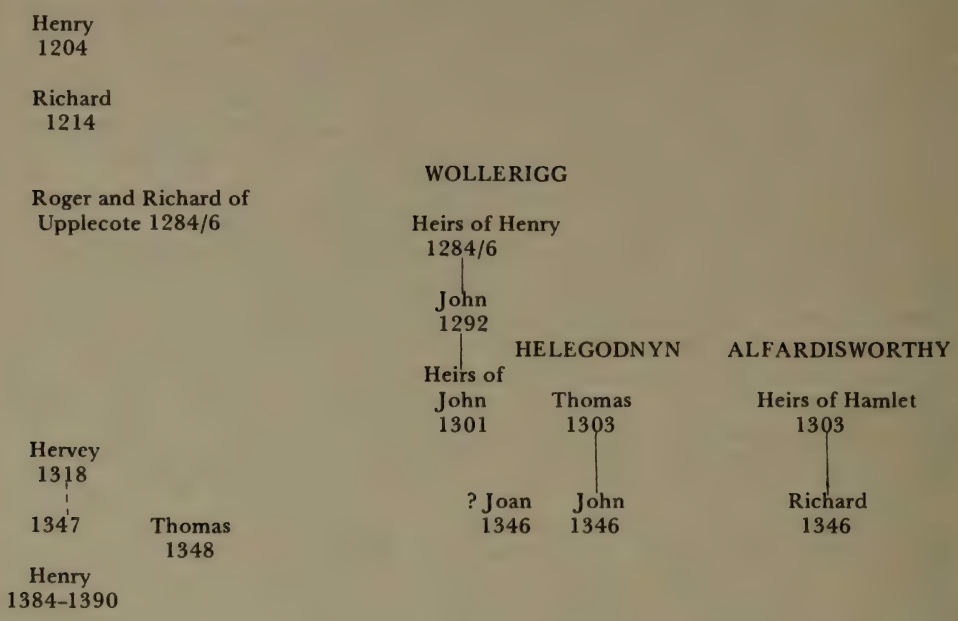
At the beginning of 1341 he had somehow become coroner for Devon, but in April the king ordered that 'another coroner be elected in that country in place of Hervey Tirel, who has no lands in that county to qualify him'.[101] He must have had friends in high places, because in May of the same year there was a notice of 'commitment to Hervey Tyrel of the county of Devon and the castle of Exeter so that he answer at the exchequer as other sheriffs and keepers hitherto'.[102] However, his enemies, or fellow contenders for the office, were soon at work to oust him, and on 2 June there was a direction 'to find by inquisition in Co. Devon what lands Hervey Tirel, sheriff of that county, holds there, as it is reputed that he has not sufficient to answer the king and people, as contained in divers statutes of the realm, and is thereby insufficient for the office'.[103]

Hervey was not to be kept out of office for long; in 1343 he was named as one of the commissioners instructed to make an inquisition in Devon concerning the stannary men,[104] and in 1345 he was created sheriff of Devon and Escheator in Devon and Cornwall.[105] There are abundant entries confirming that Hervey was holding these offices throughout 1346,[106] and he is noted in August on a commission inquiring into 'trespasses by collectors of ninths of sheaves, fleeces and lambs in Devon',[107] but one suspects that there was something irregular about his tenure of office; he had been appointed Sheriff of Devon in December 1345, yet in July 1346 he is instructed to exercise the office of sheriff and keeper of Exeter castle—'Hervey had held but another had been installed'.[108] This confirmation is dated only two weeks after the authorisation of an enquiry into serious abuse of office, on the complaint of the Bishop of Exeter, who alleged that 'Hervey Tyrel, sheriff of Devon, and Thomas Greene, Elias Wilde, Rogert de Kyrkham and William de Wyke, pretending to be ministers of the same sheriff, plotting to usurp the king's rights and royal power, have forged counterfeit seals of the seal of office of the said sheriff, and by confederacy have caused many writs of trespass in their names to be made . . . against the said bishop, not made in the course and style of the Chancery, nor sealed with the great seal, but forged . . .'.[110] Although the matter is referred to again a month later,[110] in much the same terms, we are in ignorance of the outcome.

Whether Hervey lost his office because of this or his year was up, he was ordered in January 1347, as late escheator and sheriff, to deliver these offices to Thomas de Ralegh.[111] Further entries direct him in February to hand over to Richard Cogan, the new sheriff; in March his executors to deliver the rolls and writs to Ralph Beaupel, and in April the keepers of the rolls and writs to deliver them to Ralph Bryt,[112] which leaves some uncertainty as to who was the new sheriff and escheator.

From these entries it is apparent that Hervey did not survive the termination of his offices. He was thought to be alive on 22 February, but the second order of 20 March was addressed to 'the executors of the will of Hervey Tyrel', so he probably died about the end of February.

Tyrells in Devonshire, 1200–1400



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Cornwall

As with Devon, there is a brief mention in the early 13th century when a Harvey Tirel, clerk, is noted in Cornwall,[113] followed by a blank period of nearly sixty years, and the 14th century produces a variety of names, mostly incapable of classification.

The first of these occurs in 1281 in a case at Launceston assizes in which Henry Tyrel, and others, were charged with unjustly disseissing William, son of Walter de St. Margaret of his free tenements in Trehudred, Kernok and Penstradon.[114] In 1315 Richard de St. Margaret (probably son of William) had a writ of novel disseissing against Herman Tyrel,[115] who might be the son of Henry Tyrel.

In 1302 'Wynan son of Wanan Tyrel' was granted a pardon 'for the death of Robert de Treureu, and for his robberies etc. in the relm [*sic*], and of any consequent outlawry',[116] and in 1315 the 'king's ports in Cornwall' were entrusted to the keeping of 'Wynand Tyrel the younger'.[117] The following year he was instructed to deliver his charge to the newly-appointed sheriff.[118]

In September 1322 John Cheyndut and Wynan Tyrel were granted protection from law activities in their absence 'until All Saints' (1 November), to accompany Thomas Lercedekne who was 'going with the king to Scotland', and in October this immunity was extended until the following Easter as they were 'staying with the king in Scotland'.[119] An inquiry held at Bodmin in 1329 relates some of the expenses incurred by Thomas Lercedekne by order of Edward II. This could refer to the occasion just mentioned when in 1322 Edward II made an incursion into Scotland

and sacked the abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose. It was said that 40 tuns of wine at 60s. each, 62 quarters and 7 bushels of wheat at 12s. a quarter (8 bushels = 1 quarter), and 300 quarters of oats at 40d. a quarter, were bought in Cornwall; further monies laid out on haulage, in a ship and loading, in grinding the said wheat, freightage in small ships from Falmouth to Fowey to the great ship, loading the said ship *Seynt Savour ys Cogge* in Fowey, and its passage to Skybernesse to the king's use for war, and Wynan Tyrel was credited with 67s. 'for himself, his groom and his horse, for going to Newcastle on Tyne to meet the said ship to deliver the said victuals to the receiver of the king's stores'.[120]

Wynan Tyrel and three others were appointed in 1341 collectors to levy the subsidies of the tenths and fifteenths in Cornwall for three years,[121] and he is next encountered in 1343 in a complaint by the Duke of Cornwall who had lost his profits because Wynan Tyrel and others 'have been consenting and aiding the pewterers' who had been 'working vessels out of uncoined tin'.[122] Among those accused with Wynan was 'John Tyrel of Lostwithiel', probably his son, as 'John son of Winan Tirel' was 'indicted before the keepers of the peace of felonies in Co. Cornwall' and ordered to be delivered 'to the custody of the keeper of the king's gaol of Launceston' in 1349.[123]

Wynan Tyrel is mentioned only once more, in 1347, when there was a commission to raise 20,000 sacks of wool to prosecute the war in France (Hundred Years War) and he collected in Cornwall some 262½ sacks.[124] His son, John, is not heard of again, so we do not know whether he survived his sojourn in Launceston gaol, or whether he met the same fate as many unfortunates who, when the justices eventually appeared to carry out their 'gaol delivery', were summarily hanged unless they could produce good evidence that they should not have been there in the first place.

One other definite family line is that of Tyrel of St. Colan; though but two generations are positively identifiable some of the others may belong to it. Half a knight's fee in St. Colan was held by Thomas Tyrel in 1332,[125] and again in 1334,[126] and 1346,[127] in which last it was described as 'half a small fee'. He was succeeded by Richard, first named as of St. Colan in 1365, when 'Richard Tirell of St. Colan' was pardoned 'for his outlawry in Middlesex' for non-appearance to answer a plea that he render an account of a past office.[128] As no other Tyrells are mentioned in Cornwall at this time it is probable that the Richard Tyrel who was pardoned his outlawry in Cornwall in 1352, for failing to appear before the justices on a charge of trespass,[129] was the same man. His father was then probably still alive, so he might not be accorded the title 'of St. Colan' until he entered on his inheritance.

In 1371 Richard was one of the collectors responsible for raising money to aid 'the French War'. This was originally fixed at 22s. 3d. per parish, but later in the year was raised to 116s. per parish.[130] The total of £1,125 4s. 0d. for Cornwall indicates a collection from 194 parishes. A 19th-century gazetteer listed 203 for Cornwall, so it seems that several were missed out. (It is not unknown to find the collector's own parish omitted as he would thereby avoid the dues himself.)

Richard Tyrel of St. Colan was 'insufficiently qualified' to be coroner of the county, because in February 1372 the sheriff was directed to elect another in his place on these grounds,[131] and he is then not noticed again until 1379 when he was once more a collector of subsidies;[132] and the subsidies of 1284 were also collected by a Richard,[133] who, though not designated as 'of St. Colan', was probably the

same. In 1388 he was mentioned as a juror,[134] but three years later the sheriff was instructed 'to elect a coroner in place of Richard Tyrel' [of St. Colan] 'who is sick and aged'.[135]

The Richard Tyrel described, with others, as 'evildoers in Co. Cornwall' in 1392,[136] might have been the same man, but Richard Tirelle who received a grant for life of certain manors in 1393[137] is undefinable and unlikely to be the same.

The remaining Tyrells encountered in Cornwall are not disposable into any definite family, and can only be listed as they occur. They would almost certainly belong to one of the rudimentary branches already mentioned, which probably all belonged to the same extended family group.

1303. William Tirel of Trevinern a juror on the hundred inquisition.[138] Richard Tyrel (of ?) the same.[139]

1312/14/18. William Tyrel of Restyr, with several others, had conspired with Joan, the widow of Richard le Eyr of Trewoelesyk to accuse William de Restourek of the death of her husband for which he was imprisoned at Lostwithiel until he was acquitted.[140]

1317. Henry Tirel, guardian of Nicholas, son of Roger de Inkepenne, returned his property as being of age.[141]

1327. Michael de Pellour received pardon for the death of William Tyrel of Trevinern, the younger.[142] Presumably son of him referred to above (1303).

Thomas Marcely laid a complaint that Richard Tyrel of Trelehonbys, and others, broke his house at Lysarth, co. Cornwall, assaulted him and carried away his goods.[143]

1332. Complaint by John de Trevaignon, king's sergeant, 'that Richard Tyrel (of ?), Drogo Baby and others, assembling a great mob, mounted and on foot, attacked John's manor at Guthfos Muer in Cornwall while he was on the king's service, forced an entry, took his wife Joan and delivered her into the custody of certain tithing men of those parts who imprisoned her as a thief and robber, to the great expense of the complaintant, and contrary to the Statute of Northampton against carrying arms'.[144]

1340. Vivian Tyrel listed with others as 'vendors of the subsidy of one ninth in Cornwall'.[145]

1341. Vivian Tyrel and others, 'collectors of the ninths of lambs, fleeces and sheaves in Cornwall'.[146]

1343/47. Complaint by Matilda, the widow of Thomas Lercedekne (with whom Wynan went to Scotland in 1322) that 'Ralph Tyrel and others at Landege and Bodewen, Cornwall, broke her house, killed 12 oxen and 12 cows worth £24 etc.'[147]

1371. Complaint by Edward, Prince of Aquitaine and Wales and Duke of Cornwall (the Black Prince), that William Tirell, Alexander Tirell and others 'carried away his goods at Mousehole, Markeseu, Pensans and Newelyn, Co. Cornwall, and assaulted his men and servants there'.[148]

1379/80. Petition of Richard Tyrell of Trehane and Rose, his wife, kinswoman and heir of John Pykeyn of Trehane, for the restitution of a third part of the lands late of the said John . . .'.[149] The following year these lands were delivered to Richard and his wife, Rose, who was declared to be the cousin and heir of John Pykeyn, deceased.[150]

1386 and 1395. John Tyrell, vicar of Bodmin.[151]

Tyrells in Cornwall, 1200–1400

Henry (Wanan)
1281

Wynan 1302 — William of Trevinern 1303 — Richard 1303

Herman 1315 — Henry 1317 — William of Restyr 1312–18

William of Trevinern the younger 1327 — Richard of Trelehonbys 1327

Thomas of St. Colan 1332 — Richard 1332

Vivian 1340/1

1343 John of Lostwithiel — Ralph 1343/47

1347 John son of Wynan 1349

Richard of St. Colan ? 1352

William and Alexander 1371

John, vicar of Bodmin 1386–95 — ? Richard 1393

1391

Tyrells of Other Counties

Apart from the counties and families already described, there is evidence of separate branches in other parts of the country during this period. These are largely only brief references with little detail, and as such are set out below in list form.

Surrey

1200. An appeal against Hordan Tirell pending in this county.[152]

Lincolnshire

1231. Baldwin Tyrel in an assise of novel disseissin against Maud, widow of Geoffrey de Serland, of land in Bonby.[153] This might be the same man occurring in Yorkshire, *c.* 1190, and Herefordshire, *c.* 1200.

1316. Licence was granted for 'the alienation in mortmain to the Priory of Bolyngton, by William Tyrel of Panton, and others, of a bovate of land [about 15 acres] in Herdewyk'.[154]

Cumberland and Westmorland

1265. Henry de Tyrel in a list of 'faithful Knights'.[155] That is to say, he had remained loyal to the king in the recent rebellion which ended with Simon de Montfort's defeat and death at the Battle of Evesham on 4 August 1265.

1272/80. Richard de Tyrel was granted respite of knighthood for seven years by payment of five marks (£3 6s. 8d.).[156]

1395/6/7. Order to arrest and deliver to the sheriff of Westmorland, Robert de Tyrell and others 'who are threatening the lives and lands of the Abbot of Hepp in that county'.[157]

This family takes its name from the village of Tirril on the Cumberland/Westmorland border near Penrith, so it is doubtful whether they have any connection with those bearing the patronymic Tyrell, as distinct from being Henry, Richard or Robert 'of Tirril'. It could be argued that some early Tirel gave his name to the place, but this is unlikely as English place-names invariably derive from pre-Norman times, and this is given by Ekwall[158] as coming from Old Norse 'tyri', dry resinous wood, and 'erg' shieling (a hill pasture)—evolving from Tyrerghe to Tyrel and Tirril.

1412. Listed in the Feudal Aids assessments under Yorkshire is 'the Lord of Tyrell' (Dominus de Tyrell).[159] As this seems to belong rightly to the family of Cumberland/Westmorland it may be that either he was from that family, but was holding some land in Yorkshire, or geography was not a strong point of the clerk who made the entry and it was good enough to describe as 'Yorkshire' anything north of Trent.

Lancashire

1272. John Tyrel confirmed to the monks of Stanlaw an acre in Denton which his grandfather, Hugh Tyrel, had formerly given in alms.[160] Grandfather Hugh probably made his original gift not more than 50 years prior to this date, so it is virtually impossible for him to have been the Hugh of the 'Welsh borders'. The only one documented at the right period would be Hugh of Castleknock in Ireland, active from 1223 to 1245, so it is possible that John, and subsequent Lancashire Tyrells, relate to him as their ancestor. A further connection between the Tyrells of Lancashire and Ireland is suggested by the inclusion among the papers of Viscount Gormaston of Ireland, whose family were originally of Preston, Lancashire, of:

1328. Charter of Alexander Tyrell granting half an acre of land and half an acre of meadow in Preston to Roger of Preston.[161]

1330. Mention of 'William son of Adam de Tyrel of Preston'.[162] This begs the question of whether these were 'real' Tyrells or members of the family from Tirril in Cumberland/Westmorland.

1379. Alexander Tyrell of Preston was granted protection from law for one year, going to Ireland on the king's service in the company of John de Bromwych, justiciary of Ireland.[163] This Alexander cannot be the same as he of 1328 as he would then have been at least 72 years old, and therefore too old to be doing active service.

He could well be a son or even grandson, and the chief interest of this record lies in its further relating these Tyrells to Ireland.

Staffordshire

Although this county has been considered in an earlier section on Hugh I and Hugh II of the 'Welsh borders' between 1339 and 1382, there are other references to Tyrells unconnected with them, in the 12th and early 13th centuries, to land in a different place.

A legal dispute in 121 relates that 'in the time of Henry I' (1100–1135), Fulc Tirel was holding 10 acres of land at Huntsworth.[164]

In 1222 Ralph Tyrell was associated with a common pasture at Huntsworth,[165] and in 1276 he appears to be holding two carucates there (? about 240 acres), by devise of Geoffrey de Mandeville.[166]

Although there is nothing in this to connect Ralph with Bedfordshire, it has previously been stated that there does not appear to be another one worthy of mention at this time, so the supposition is that he was the same as Ralph of Wilden, for whom the dates would fit very well. What is more, his holding of land from the Mandevilles, who were large landowners in Essex, might be construed as an indication that these Tyrells were also connected with that county.

* * * * *

'East Anglia'

A diffuse line of Tyrells is apparent in the counties of eastern England between *c.* 1200 and 1400, in connection with Norfolk, Suffolk and Kent, and with an occasional reference to the intervening county of Essex, so perhaps the Essex line rose from one of these.

An antiquarian history of Suffolk,[167] describing the Manor of Heveningham, blithely relates 'Anno 1020, when Canute was King of England, Galtir Heveningham was lord of Heveningham in Suffolk', and continues to give his 'family tree':

Galtir H.= Emma d. of Cornwall of Cornwall she bore azure a bend or.

Walter H. = Mabilia d. of Geoffrey Tyrell Kt. bore azure a lion rampant argent.

Robert H. Etc.

This is obviously a piece of pious hope, with its heraldic attributes some two centuries too early for acceptance and 'Geoffrey Tyrell' as a Saxon knight, but it suggests that the pedigree-makers, and the family concerned, were aware that there was a line of Tyrells (with whom they presumably intermarried) in that part of the country at an early time. It is also very interesting to note that the arms attributed to this Geoffrey are not the double chevron of the later Tyrells of Essex and the eastern counties, but the lion rampant found on the western side of the country in the line which appeared to die out with Hugh II in 1380. Although the Heveningham pedigree cannot possibly

be taken at its face value, there is an inherent suggestion of a connection with the 'Welsh border' Tyrells, which serves to remind us that the Sir John of 1314 was a co-witness of the de Clare grant with Sir Roger; if he were the John of Tenbury in 1315 then either he or his eponymous son, mentioned at Tenbury in 1342, could be the John connected with Essex in 1333 and be, in 1314, possibly a younger brother of Hugh.

The first Tyrell reference to these counties is in the Pipe Roll of 1167/8 which gives, under 'Norfolk and Suffolk', an Alexander Tirel, with some doubt as to his right to the land;[168] then in 1200 Wlviva de Itringham is in conflict with Warin Tirell concerning the presentation to the living of the church there.[169] Warin subsequently occurs on several occasions, as a Knight of Assise in 1203, 1206 and 1207 in Kent,[170] and 1210 in Norfolk,[171] then as a witness in Norfolk in 1214.[172] In the same series Gerald 'Turell' in 'Milree', Cambridgeshire[173] and Reginald Tyrel in Essex[174] are both mentioned in 1201.

In 1210 litigation involving Walter Tyrell commences in Kent over '2 parts of one fee in Little Dartford which Walter states he holds by inheritance from his mother not his father',[175] and this case recurs until 1212;[176] listed on one occasion under Norfolk and not Kent. Then, in 1224 and 1225, Walter is required to warrant the ownership of a mill in Dartford,[172] in which he declares his relationship. This seems to indicate that he was grandson of Warin Tyrel: 'filius et heres Walteri filii et heredis Mabilie quondam uxoris predicti Warinii . . .';—'the son and heir of Walter who was son and heir of Mabel the wife of Warin'. Probably the Walter of 1210 was the father of this one as he was referring to inheritance from his mother (who would be Mabel).

It is interesting that Achard de Aldeham, who was the defendant in this latter case, had employed Simon Tirel in 1204 as his attorney in another litigation in Kent,[178] which suggests that Simon belonged to the same family as Walter. Between 1201 and 1222 Simon appears as attorney on many occasions, frequently in Yorkshire, but also in Kent and Norfolk, with mentions in Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire, Hampshire, Gloucestershire, and Northumberland,[179] so he probably belonged to a family in the east Midlands region.

Kent does not feature again among the later Tyrells, and there is also a gap of about fifty years before any others are noticed. However, the next references take us back to the Norfolk/Suffolk area, with an action in Suffolk in 1275[180] of Roger and William Tyrel against Walter Tyrel and his son, Walter.

A deed at Wadham College, presumably concerning these Tyrels, records a 'grant by Walter son of Walter Tyrel to Sawallus de Sulwede of 10 acres in Haningefelde', Essex. The opinion of Professor C. R. Cheney, who has catalogued the Wadham College documents, is that it should be dated 'early thirteenth century'. One would expect a family in Norfolk, Suffolk and Kent to have an interest in the intervening county of Essex, so that the father and son Walters of the Essex document can reasonably be equated with those already mentioned. The subject of this grant gives the first indication of the Tyrells with a possible location in Essex since the sale of Langham Manor, *c.* 1146, and establishes a link with the county in the 13th century. This grant was probably made by the Walter, son of Walter, encountered in 1225, 75 years before any further connection with Essex can be demonstrated, and reference to Haningfield at this date is important as it suggests a continuing family interest in the place through subsequent generations until it occurs once again with the Tyrels established in Essex in the 14th century.

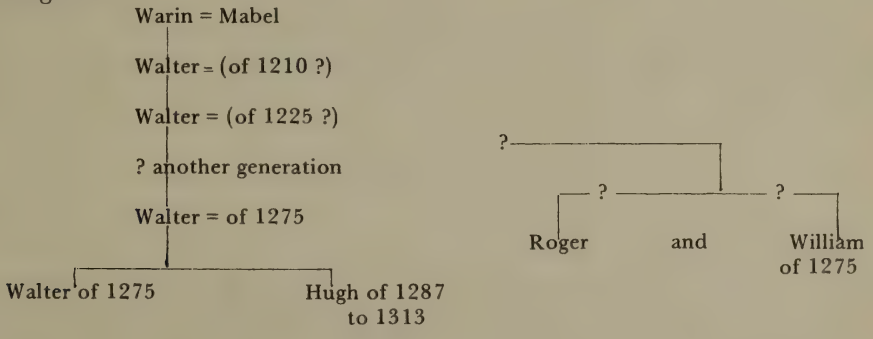
The deed has a seal in white wax with a fleur-de-lis design and an indecipherable legend. This was presumably Walter's personal device, and may have been a miniature version of his shield of arms: by this date coats of arms were becoming established and the use of a man's particular and recognisable emblems on a seal was accepted practice as a 'signature'.

In 1287, litigation concerning land at Mannington, Norfolk, mentions 'Walter Tyrel and Hugh Tyrell of Manyngton',[182] and although Walter is not encountered again, this Hugh occurs on several occasions until 1313. In 1303 it was said that he *had* held a half fee in 'Manyngton, Itryngham, Oulton, Banyngham, Bernyngham and Wolteston' in Norfolk.[183] Then three Chancery warrants of 1310 tell us that:

(a) Hugh Tyrel was to be released from the Fleet prison to which he had been committed, attainted of conspiracy.
(b) Hugh Tyrel of Manyngton asked the king's pardon for his conspiracy, as he has made full ransom for it.
(c) Hugh's charter of pardon was ordered to be withheld from him 'till the king lets them know his will'.[184]

It seems Hugh was allowed his pardon later in the year at the request of Piers Gaveston, the king's favourite,[185] whose wife, Margaret, was, it should be noted, the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, sixth earl.

In 1313 the king ordered the sheriff of Norfolk to release about twenty men who had been 'appealed before the king by John, son of William de Itryngham of the death of Hugh Tirel his uncle'.[186] If 'uncle' is the exact relationship, then it seems that either Hugh's sister married William de Itryngham or that William's sister married Hugh. In either case, this family liaison, and Hugh's holding of land in Itryngham, recalls the disputed presentation to the Itryngham benefice of 1200, in which Wlviva de Itryngham and Warin Tirell were at loggerheads. Warin must have had some title to land and the advowson there, so it seems logical that Hugh of a century later, who also had an interest in lands at Atryngham, was a lineal descendant, and the line is likely to be something thus:



Chapter Six

THE TYRELLS OF ESSEX

The Founding Fathers

THE EARLY PART of the 'traditional' pedigree—first enshrined in print by Morant in 1768 and followed, with variations, by subsequent writers of Tyrell history is:

Sir Walter
|
Sir Henry
|
Sir Richard
|
Sir Edward or Edmund
|
Sir Geoffrey
|
Sir Lionel
|
Sir Edward m. Maud or Ann Borgate
|
Sir Hugh m. Joan, daughter of James Flambard. Governor of Carisbrooke, 1377
|
Sir James of Heron m. Margaret, daughter of Sir William Heron of Heron
|
Sir Walter m. Jane, daughter of Sir William Swinford
|
Sir Thomas of Heron m. (1) Alice d'Adeleigh of Heron; (2) Eleanor, daughter of John Flambert
|
Sir John m. Alice, daughter of Sir William Coggeshall
|
Sir Thomas m. Anne, daughter of Sir William Marney

This carries the line well into the 15th century, with the last two (John and Thomas) adequately documented in the succession which, from then on, is straightforward. No such certainty applies, however, to the previous generations where the facts are at variance with the given pedigree. The seven names between Sir Walter, the 'founding father', and Sir James who is clearly identifiable with Essex at the beginning of the 14th century, have already been examined. Some further observations should nevertheless be made with regard to 'Sir Edward' and 'Sir Hugh', the last two generations before Sir James.

'Sir Edward'. I have not found any reference to an Edward Tyrell at or around this period; the first one does not occur until the early part of the 15th century. On

the other hand the pedigree gives his wife's maiden name as Borgate, and this might well be significant.

In a 17th-century achievement of arms at Thornton Hall—discussed in a later chapter—are marshalled the coats of several families with whom the Tyrells had intermarried during the preceding centuries, among which are the arms of Borgate. Unless these had been brought into the family indirectly by some other marriage—as were Rokele by Bruyn and Hawksmoor by Coggeshall—the conclusion must be that one of the early generations of the Essex family had indeed taken a Borgate to wife. Such a candidate does not exist at any stage from James down to the commencement of the Thornton branch of Tyrells, the wife's name in each case being known, though one or other of these could have had another wife not recorded in the information to hand. The probability is, therefore, that a Borgate (Maud or Ann?) was the wife of one of the ancestors of James, but whether or not her husband was Edward is an open question.

'Sir Hugh'. There can surely be no remaining doubt regarding the identification of the father of James with the Sir Hugh of Carisbrooke in 1377; common sense forbids it, and the records of Sir Hugh and his family completely disqualify the suggestion. But does tradition play some part in this? When the Heralds made their visits to draw up pedigrees of the major families there could not have been many people who were able to list with accuracy their forbears beyond one or two generations. It is thus palpably absurd to expect that family trees relating back over 500 years to the Conquest should be correct.

Family tradition might recollect some of the ancestral names, but be uncertain of their relative positions, particularly where the same Christian names recurred frequently.

This could explain the inclusion in the family tree of a remembered Hugh, complicated by the addition at a later date of the attributes of his more illustrious namesake. The name does not occur again in the Essex family, suggesting that (a) Sir Hugh's defence of Carisbrooke was attributed to him because he was the only one known to later Tyrells, and (b) more significantly, he appears in the generation before James, at which time there is a Hugh Tyrell on record in this part of England, and none other noted except in Ireland (q.v.).

This is the Hugh Tyrell of Mannington in Norfolk, first met with in 1287 and killed in 1313, who was connected with a Walter who belonged to a family owning land at Haningfield in Essex. By a strange coincidence one of the few references to James Tyrell concerns West Haningfield; an enquiry in January 1318 into the alleged breaking into William de la Beche's manor house there by James Tyrel, John Heron, John de Colville, a clerk, Willian de Colville, and Agnes, the widow of Richard de Colville.[1] This episode does not, without exemplification of the inter-relationships, provide irrefutable evidence of a Tyrell interest at Haningfield at that date, but in 1372 and 1376 it is noted that Thomas Tyrell (who will later appear in the descent) had possessions in South and West Haningfield.[2]

These considerations form strong presumptive evidence for James of Essex being a lineal descendant of the Norfolk line already outlined, and he could have been son of either Hugh or Walter. It will be seen in the 'traditional' pedigree that a Walter is given as son of James—this is extremely improbable, but it may be another instance of tradition. There was indeed a later Walter, but not as placed in the

pedigree, and memory may have been confused by an earlier one of this name at the time of James.

This is an appropriate point to introduce and exorcise another item from the Tyrell mythology—the family tabu upon the name of Walter. Such statements as '. . . the reader will not fail to notice that . . . the ill-starred name of Walter is carefully avoided',[3] indicate complete ignorance of the historical evidence of the post-Conquest centuries which, though incomplete, does declare the widespread use of this name, particularly in the East Anglian branch which may constitute the origins of the Essex family.

Establishment in Essex

James. Three agreements made in the Trinity law tern of 1305 herald the appearance of James Tyrrel upon the Essex scene, and place him firmly on the ground as ancestor of the later family. These all refer to land at Buttsbury, one of the places which subsequently recur in later generations. In the first one, James Tyrrel and his wife Alice are assigning, for a consideration of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), a part share in '1 messuage, 156 acres of land, 5½ acres of meadow, 55 acres of wood, and 46s. 0d. rent' to John Bacum, clerk, and his heirs, together with 'the advowson of ¼ of the church' (i.e., the right to appoint one in every four rectors).[4] The second records a charter of John de Colville and his wife, granting 10 acres in Buttsbury to James Tyrrel and his heirs,[5] and thirdly, John de Colville and his wife are disposing of 11 acres of land and 3 roods of meadow there to James and his daughter, Joan, and the heirs of Joan.[6]

It is possible that Alice, the wife of James, might have died during the early part of 1305; she is coupled with him in the first document, but not mentioned in either of the other two. It is, however, not an invariable rule that the wife should be included in these legal arrangements.

Traditionally, James Tyrrel was married to Margaret, the daughter of Sir William Heron, whereby he founded the family seat at Heron Hall in East Horndon. Such evidence as exists for this is entirely circumstantial and derives from two facts: (1) the Manor of Heron was held by subsequent Tyrells, and (2) the association of James with John Heron in the affair of 1318 already related.

Not until a quarter of a century later do we meet with any further mention of the name James. In 1343, James Tyrrel 'the younger' and wife Katherine, acquired, for 100 marks, the reversion of an estate of 1 messuage, 70 acres land, and 1½ acres meadow in Langdon and 'Estlee', one of the holders being of Basildon.[7] The Close Roll of 1344 records a grant of lands at Basildon, Langdon and Nevedon which was witnessed by James Tirel,[8] and earlier in the same month James Tyrell was witness to a sale of lands in Horndon and 'Orsete'.[9] Complaint was made in the following year that James Tyrel and others had assaulted John de Langdon at Nevendon and Langdon,[10] and this is the last reference to a James that has come to light.

Evidently in 1343 there were two James's, and the 'younger' could reasonably be the son of the earlier mentioned one, while the absence of such distinguishing epithet in the records of 1344 and 1345 indicates that there was only one James then. In that case James (the elder) must have died somewhere between the beginning of the Easter Law term, 1343 (Wednesday 30 April) and the beginning of October

1344. (It is worth noting the evident unimportance of the spelling of names in early days; the surname of James is rendered in four different ways in four entries: Tyrrel, Tirel, Tyrell and Tyrel respectively.)

Family Relationships

Some relationships may be deduced from the limited references available, but they are largely conjectural, even if probable. The third of the 1305 records shows James providing for his daughter, Joan, through a marriage dower, as the land is to be for Joan and her heirs. She could not have been married, or even affianced, then or else her husband's name would surely have been mentioned, so she was doubtless still a child.

In 1318 James Tyrel was associated with John Heron, John de Colville, clerk, William de Colville, and Agnes, the widow of Richard de Colville, in their alleged breaking into the manor house of William de la Beche at West Haningfield.[11] The implication of this record is that the defendants were all connected by family relationships: William de la Beche, it would seem, had disseissed Agnes after the death of her husband, and she and her kin had then taken the law into their own hands instead of applying for a writ of mort d'ancestor.

We are given to believe that James Tyrel married Margaret, the daughter of Sir William Heron, 'in the reign of Edw. 2 or Edw. 3'—a somewhat vague dating which allows a limit of 70 years, from 1307 to 1377. This could not be before 1305 when Alice was recorded as the wife of James, but if she died in that year then from 1307 onwards is a reasonable starting point to look for the second wife of James, Margaret Heron. If the 1318 disturbance was a kinship action, the Tyrells were by that time united to the Herons by this marriage. Furthermore, the Colville family was also joined to one or other of these; Agnes, the widow of Richard de Colville, was either a Heron or a Tyrell. She could be a sister of Sir William Heron, or his daughter (sister to Margaret), and similarly a sister or daughter of James Tyrell, and there is no confirmatory evidence for any of these possibilities. There are, however, two small items of information which may assist in deciding the issue.

(1) In 1408 John Tyrel, the descendant of James in the Essex pedigree, was associated with John Cornwallis and Geoffrey Colville and two clergymen concerning land at West Horndon.[11a] John Cornwallis was the husband of John Tyrel's niece, Philippa, so it might seem probable that Geoffrey de Colville—undoubtedly a descendant of John de Colville—was also related in some way, and this could only come about if Richard de Colville of the early 14th century had married a Tyrel, which would make Agnes the sister or daughter of James.

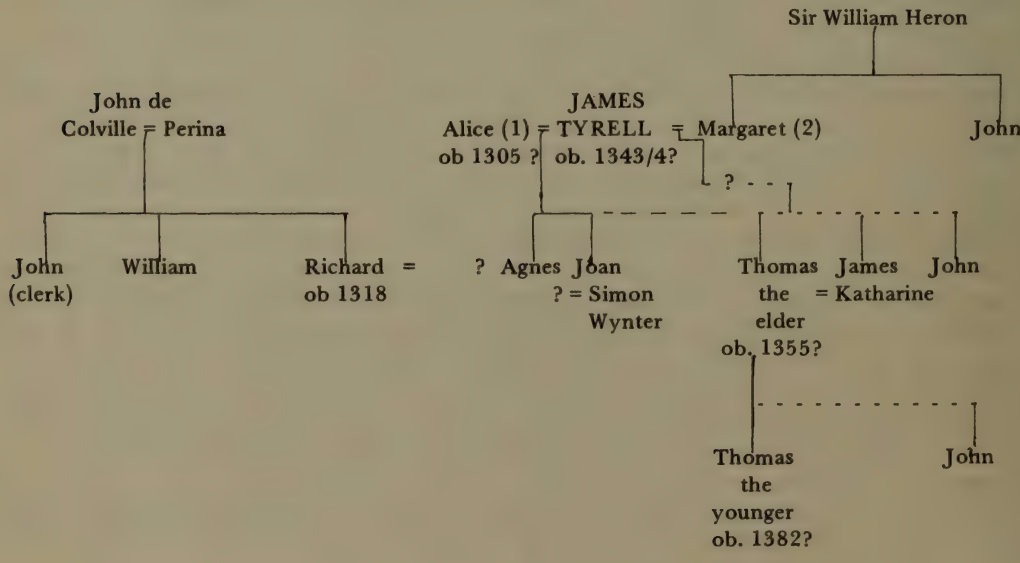
(2) In 1367 Sir Thomas Tyrell—descendant of James—witnessed a grant of 21 acres arable and two acres meadow, late of John Colville and wife Perina, in Buttsbury, by Simon Wynter, citizen and goldsmith of London, to Thomas Blount.[12] In this agreement Simon is linked with his wife, Joan, and her sister Agnes, who could possibly be Joan, the daughter of James Tyrel, and Agnes, the widow of Richard de Colville. It may be that the 21 acres which Wynter parted with in 1367—by consent of Joan and Agnes—represents the two pieces of 10 acres and 11 acres respectively which James Tyrel obtained in 1304/5 from John de Colville.

James the younger who appeared briefly from 1343 to 1345 was presumably the son of James the elder, but evidently not the eldest son, as Thomas 'the elder' and

Thomas 'the younger' occur from 1332 onwards and were clearly the lineal heirs of James. In 1332 Thomas the younger would have to be at least 21, therefore born by about 1310; Thomas the elder born by about 1290, and the elder James born sometime around 1265-70. By 1304/5, when James is first encountered, Thomas would be about fourteen, and Joan probably a year or two younger. Agnes, if another daughter—as seems probable—must have been in her late teens by 1318, so was probably born about 1300, and also a child of Alice. There is also the question of James 'the Younger', about whose age we have no information at all. Mentioned only in 1343 to 1345 he could, at that time, be of any age from 21 to about fifty-four, so potentially the son of either Alice or Margaret Heron. James the father would be about forty in 1304/5, and perhaps the wrong side of fifty by 1318 when it would seem the Heron marriage had taken place, so he was not too old to produce more children by a second, and possibly younger, wife.

During the 14th century there are two references to a John in Essex: first, in 1333 the I.P.M. of Edmund Bataille, reported that he held of John Tyrell a capital messuage, 14 acres of land, a grove containing 1½ acres, and 6d. yearly rent of assise in Doddinghurst;[13] and second, in 1362, John Tyrel witnessed a quitclaim in Essex.[14] The assumption is that both these refer to the same man, and that he belonged to the family of James and Thomas. His dates make him rather old to be a brother of James the elder, but he could be a son, either of the first or second marriages. On the other hand it will be remembered that Thomas the elder had a son Thomas (the younger) who was of age by 1332, so quite possibly he could have had a second son who was of age by 1333. The position of John in the pedigree is therefore purely conjectural for either of these generations. (*See also under* the Bedfordshire Tyrells for what may be the same John.)

Suggested Pedigree and Family Connections



Manor of Heron

After James, the succeeding Tyrells of Essex were Thomas the elder and Thomas the younger; the latter seemingly the son of the former, but there is no evidence that Thomas the elder was definitely son of James. However, the absence of any other candidate gives the elder Thomas pride of place, and although the Heron Manor is not mentioned in his lifetime there can be little doubt that it was held by his son, Thomas the younger. The latter was referred to as 'of East Horndon' in 1363,[15] and in the same year was given royal permission to enclose his estate of 400 acres in Ingrave and East Horndon.[16] In later generations a frequent appellation is 'Tyrell of Heron in East Horndon'.

The succession of James–Thomas–Thomas is therefore virtually unassailable, and the Heron marriage practically a *sine qua non.* Less certain is when the Heron estates actually came to the Tyrells; possibly a bonus accruing from this marriage. The explanation must lie in the death of John Heron, sometime after 1318, without an heir, so that his estate passed to his sister, Margaret, or her heirs, but we can only limit this event to a span of 45 years from 1318 to 1363.

A valuable contribution has already been given to the subsequent 14th-century generations of *The Early Tyrrels of Heron in East Horndon,* by G. A. Moriarty,[17] who demonstrates their incorrectness, and constructs a new line linking James with the established names of the early 15th century. This is a scholarly and objective assessment of the situation founded on positive evidence, and stands in isolation as the first and, to my knowledge, only work on the Essex Tyrells which withstands the light of scrutiny. In place of the 'traditional' pedigree of James–Walter–Thomas–John, Moriarty supplies the following: John–Thomas–Thomas–Walter–John, which is clearly more in accord with the evidence. I would, however, presume to disagree with this as it stands, and will in the course of this section outline the reasons for so doing.

Thomas. It is apparent from the long series of references, from 1332 to 1382, and the occurrence of the identifying 'younger' or 'elder', that there were at least two of this name and possibly three, as suggested by Moriarty.

An agreement concerning land held by Thomas Tyrrell at Buttsbury in 1332 describes him as 'the elder',[18] inferring a Thomas 'the younger', presumably his son, who must have been more than twenty-one years of age at that time; born not later than about 1310. Thomas the elder would have been born before 1290; James–if he was the father of this Thomas–prior to 1270; and Hugh–if the father of James–before, at the very latest, 1250. Since only 20 years has been allowed per generation these dates are liable to err on the late side, which gives an air of improbability to the line, as both Hugh and James would each be a minimum of 73 years old when they died in 1313 and 1343 respectively. Yet there does not seem to be any satisfactory suggestion to overcome this problem. Making Thomas the elder a brother of James, instead of a son, would not help as he seems to have lived until 1355, and Thomas the younger, his presumed son, died in 1382–at least 72 years of age, and liable to be considerably more if his father was, so to speak, moved back a generation.

There are references to 'the elder' or 'the younger', and sometimes to both, in 1332, 1335, 1342, 1347, 1350, 1352, 1353 and 1355, after which date (until 1382) there is no such designation used at all in over a hundred mentions of the name

Thomas. Except one! The 'Parliament of England, 1213-1702' gives, as Knights of the Shire of Essex, the following:

Thomas	1355, 1357, 1372
Thomas Tyrell the elder	1360
Thomas Tyrell Kt.	1364-4, 1366, 1369, 1373

on the basis of which Moriarty propounds the suggestion that, as Thomas the elder would have been about seventy when he was M.P. in 1360, 'it may be that the Thomas the elder in 1360 was Sir Thomas, who was buried at Downham about 1382, who may have had a son Thomas who died a young man shortly after 1360'.

The difficulty in accepting this proposition resides in this very list of parliamentary knights. The Thomas, 'Knight', is clearly he who died in 1382, but if we assume that Thomas 'the elder' of 1360 refers to the same man (who had not at that date taken knighthood), there is an immediate problem in deciding to whom the first list of dates should apply. It might be said that the Thomas of 1355 and 1357 could be the son of the subsequent knight—the original Thomas the elder having by then died—but which ever these refer to, the 1372 Thomas would inevitably be Sir Thomas's son, and thus be on the scene as a 'Thomas the younger' for at least this 12-year period from 1360 to 1372. One would therefore expect a minimum of one or two references to 'the younger' or 'the elder' among well over sixty entries in the name Thomas which are found during this time, but there is not one, whereas the entries for the years 1332 to 1355 produce such a designation in 11 out of 25 instances.

The obvious inference to draw is that there was *not* a third Thomas, and the explanation of 'Thomas the elder' of 1360 must lie in a mistake of this document, but not in the way Moriarty suggested. As we have seen, Thomas 'the elder' and Thomas 'the younger' coincide from 1332 to 1355, after which there is no evidence for more than one of the names, and 1355 is the first year that any Thomas became a parliamentary knight. I contend that this Knight of the Shire was the younger Thomas, for these reasons: (a) Thomas 'the elder' would be a man of at least sixty-five years of age, rather late in life to aspire to this type of office—particularly for the first occasion; (b) Thomas 'the younger', of about middle age, was becoming a man of some importance at this time. In 1351 he was described as 'the King's Yeoman',[19] and in 1354 there is a record of 'a grant for good service rendered to the king's daughter Isabel, to Thomas Tyrel, King's yeoman, of £10 yearly for life'.[20]

The three apparently different Thomas's listed as M.P.s for Essex should therefore be reduced to two, the 1360 reference should join those of 1355 and 1357, while that of 1372 belongs to the Thomas Tyrel, Kt. section (this one must be incorrect on any basis of consideration), thus:

Thomas Tyrel	1355, 1357, 1360
Thomas Tyrel, Kt.	1364-5, 1366, 1369, 1372, 1373

He was knighted about the end of 1362; at any rate before February 1363.[21]

The reference in 1355 to Thomas 'the younger' is the last occasion on which two of their names must be alive, and is dated to the Hilary law term of 28 Edward III. The agreement was legalised at the sessions which started on 20 January 1355 and ended, at the latest, before Lent at the beginning of March, but it is, of course, probable that the actual contract (in which Thomas was described as 'the younger')

was drawn up several weeks beforehand, and there would be no advantage to anyone, other than a lawyer, to re-write the deed if the older Thomas died before its legal ratification. Thomas the elder could therefore have died at about the end of 1354, or early in 1355—before his son became parliamentary knight(or else he should have been described as 'the younger')—an appointment which was unlikely to be filled in the winter months.

The evidence, therefore, indicates that there were but two of the name Thomas, probably father and son; that Thomas 'the elder' died *c.* 1354/55, and that all the later entries for Knight of the Shire refer to the younger Thomas who was knighted in 1362/63 and died in 1382. A plea for inheritance of land by Thomas the younger, entered in 1366, adds a little by giving the following descent to prove his title:

Thomas Blaund = Agnes
|
Alice
|
Thomas Tyrel Kt.[22]

Thus, if Sir Thomas was the son of Thomas the elder, which has the appearance of being the probable solution, Alice Blaund must have been the wife of the elder Thomas.

Thomas the Elder (born ? before 1290; died probably 1354/55). When first encountered, in 1332, he was presumably in his forties with a grown-up son. At this date he was acquiring for himself and his heirs the remainder of a relatively small estate in Buttsbury—after the death of Michael de Yfelde, who was then being granted it for life. This consisted of 'one messuage, 17 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow'.[18] In 1347 he bought for 20 marks some land and a share in the house (with eventual remainder of the other shares) from Richard Atte Crouche of Mountnessing.[13] Neither the amount nor the location of the property is quoted in this enrolment, but it was presumably in Mountnessing.

These two entries comprise the sum total of positive information concerning lands and properties owned or acquired by this Thomas, though it is presumed that he received at some time the East Horndon estate obtained through the marriage of James to Margaret Heron, as this was certainly held by his son, Thomas, who, in 1363, had licence to impark 400 acres there.[16] He does not demonstrate, at least in his latter twenty years or so, any great interest in land transactions as did his son, who was perhaps more of a go-ahead character. Thomas the elder appears as a rather stolid minor gentleman who played his part in local affairs, thereby making connections and establishing his family in the county.

Other references show him as witness to deeds in Essex and Suffolk:

1334 enrolment of release dated at Chelmsford.[24] ? elder or younger.
1342 exemplification of charter in Suffolk on 6 October 1340.[25] ? elder.
enrolment of a deed concerning land in Horndon, Essex,[27] and
enrolment of a deed of William, son of John Fabel of Hatfield Peverel clerk.[28] Both witnessed by elder and younger.
1353 enrolment of grant of lands in East and West Ham.[29]

In January 1352 Thomas Tyrel the elder was granted the keeping of the manors in Essex of John Fitz Water, John Fermor and Robert de Marney,[30] in March he was being allowed 40d. a day as keeper of these 'certain lands' in the king's hand,[31] and in June was directed to return to Robert de Marney his lands in Essex 'as the king has pardoned his felonies',[32] and subsequently to return their lands and manors to John Fitz Water and John Fermor.[33]

In April 1350 an indenture of the king concerning coinage named Thomas Tyrel, and he received further mention in connection with money-making in the following month.[34] Two years later he served with John de Coggeshall, Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, on a commission of inquiry concerning those outlawed for felonies in these counties, and to seize their goods.[35] In 1353 Thomas was a Commissioner of the Peace in Essex,[36] and was twice in this year—in February and November—recorded as one of the local gentry concerned with keeping the Ordinance and Statute of Labourers in Essex.[37] (The catastrophic toll of the Black Death in 1348-9 created an acute labour shortage. The survivors were able to demand freedom, and a wage which the landlord was obliged to pay. The Statute of Labourers was an attempt to fix wages and prices: it was less successful with the latter than the former, and precipitated the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.)

Some indication that Thomas was conscious of his age, and not expecting to live much longer, may be gained from a papal indulgence of 1353, permitting him to choose confessors 'who shall give him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death'.[38]

Thomas the Younger. Appearances suggest that this Thomas was, if not the actual 'founding father' of the Essex family, the first of the line to make his mark on the contemporary scene, probably the first to become knighted, and the one who established the family as one of importance in the county.

We have already seen that he was described, in 1351, as the 'king's yeoman'[19] which meant that he served the king directly as one of the royal household, and it is undoubtedly to this position that he owed his rising fortune and status. One wonders through what influence he obtained this office, as there is little connection with more exalted families discernible in the records. John Fitz Water, whose lands Thomas the elder was holding in 1352, was of a cadet line of the de Clare's, which may suggest that family's influence, but equally Sir Hugh Tyrel of the 'Welsh Borders' family was also king's yeoman from 1330 until his death in 1343, and some 'cousinly' interest may be involved. I cannot find any direct link between these two branches of the Tyrells, which flourished in the latter half of the 14th century, the one just risen to prominence and firmly founded by the time Sir Thomas died in 1382, while the death of Sir Hugh two years previously brought an end to the line which had knights in several generations. There must, one feels, be some close relationship between these two branches, but the evidence is lacking.

The King's Yeoman. Thomas had aspired to the royal service some time before 1351, when the king granted him, under this title, discharge of a debt on certain lands in Essex lately acquired from Peter de Wendover.[19] There is no indication of the actual service he was rendering, but three years later, when he was granted an annuity for life of £10 at the exchequer, it was stated to be 'for the good service

rendered to the king's daughter Isabel',[20] a further annuity of £10, 'out of the issues of the county of Essex', was made in 1356 'for good service to the king and his daughter Isabel, to Thomas Tirel, kings yeoman'.[39]

In 1362 he was promoted to be steward of the household and all the lands etc., of Isabel, and to 'audit the accounts of all her reeves, farmers and bailiffs', for which he was allowed 35 marks (£23 6s. 8d.) p.a., while in this office.[40] He had thus risen in social status, and become eligible for knighthood, and by taking this a few months later he consolidated his position. The record of February 1363, which states that 'he has now taken the order of knighthood',[21] converts his two annuities and his steward's salary into an annual payment from the exchequer. (This refers to his two annuities as totalling 25 marks yearly: £10 [i.e., 15 marks] 'of the issues of the county of Essex', and the rest [i.e., 10 marks] 'at the exchequer', which indicates that the first grant to him in 1354 was entered incorrectly as £10 instead of 10 marks.) He was then in receipt of an annual income of £40 (60 marks) from the crown, and in addition was in a good position to acquire lucrative wardships, and to obtain profitable estates on favourable terms. He evidently seized this opportunity, as the many recorded references to him will show.

Sir Thomas Tyrell held his position as Isabel's steward until the end of his days, being confirmed in his office by the new king, Richard II, in 1378,[41] and occurs frequently in the records because of this post. On many occasions he is noted in connection with 'the liberty of Holderness' in East Yorkshire, dealing with such things as: investigating the concealment of wards, marriages and escheats which pertained to the king before he had granted Holderness to his daughter;[42] inquiries concerning walls and ditches;[43] poaching and trespass upon Isabel's estates;[44] and 'to make a visitation of the king's hospital of Newton in Holdernesse, as the king is informed that the hospital is in a greatly damaged state through the negligence of the master and warden thereof'.[45] (This is probably West Newton, a few miles north east of Hull, where a hospital was founded in the latter part of the 12th century by William, Earl of Albemarle, a descendant of King Stephen.)

The princess Isabel married Ingram, or Enguerrand, de Coucy, who was sent to England as a hostage after the battle of Crecy in 1346, in which his father was killed. Also killed in this battle was Jean I, Sire de Poix, the head of the French branch of the Tyrels. It is recorded by Morel-D'Acy that prior to this, when the English army was ravaging the countryside of Picardy, the town of Poix was burnt and the inhabitants put to the sword.

On the hill above the town of Poix was the ancient castle of the Tyrels with its chapel which had become the church of the Priory of Saint Denis, founded by Walter III (in 1116 according to Morel-D'Acy, but the pamphlet from the present-day church of Saint Denis states 'towards 1118'). The castle and church were destroyed by the English, but Sire Jean and his eldest son escaped by hiding in the vaults or underground passages ('les souterrains') beneath.[46] Morel-D'Acy relates that these 'souterrains' were still in existence in the mid 19th century, but the castle had 'disappeared'. Today some remnants of the fortification are still visible, including the gateway through which one passes on the path to the church; this is largely a 16th-century rebuild and only the base of the tower survives from the 12th century. (See Plate 1.)

Ingelram, lord of Coucy, and Earl of Bedford, features in several entries which include Sir Thomas Tyrel: in 1365 he and his wife Isabel were granted an annual sum of 1,000 marks from the exchequer,[47] and later in the same year he was 'going beyond the seas' and nominated William de Wykeham, clerk, and Sir Thomas Tyrel as his attorneys in England,[48] while in 1367 Thomas was making enquiries in Oxfordshire about the ill-treatment of one of the earl's servants.[49] In 1369 de Coucy, 'Earl of Bedford and Count of Soissons', again going abroad, once more nominated the same attorneys, Thomas Tyrel and William, Bishop of Winchester,[50] and in 1377 Isabel received from her nephew, King Richard II, after his accession, a new grant of lands as her old estate was forfeit to the king 'on account of the surrender of the homage of her husband Ingelram de Coucy, and his adhesion to the king of France'.[51] (Enguerrand de Councy subsequently went crusading, was captured at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 and died the following year.[52])

Sir Thomas Tyrel presumably had a legal training in his youth, and is mentioned on several occasions as a justice of the peace, and on assizes in several counties;[53] he was Coroner of Essex in 1360/61,[54] and in addition served on numerous commissions of enquiry.[53] He was also noticed from time to time with the raising of militia, and obtaining provisions for the prosecution of the war with France. Before his rise to prominence he was on the receiving end of a commission of array when he was enlisted, together with 31 others, as a man-at-arms from the county of Cambridge (no Tyrel features under Essex) to accompany 100 archers from that county to Sandwich and in ships upon the sea for the defence of the realm'.[55] On subsequent occasions he was one of the commissioners organising affairs. In 1369 he was associated with Thomas de Vere, Earl of Oxford, in the Essex array,[56] and in the following year was investigating the hoarding of 'wheat, malt or other grain' in Essex and Hertfordshire (as part of an inquiry throughout all the eastern counties).[57]

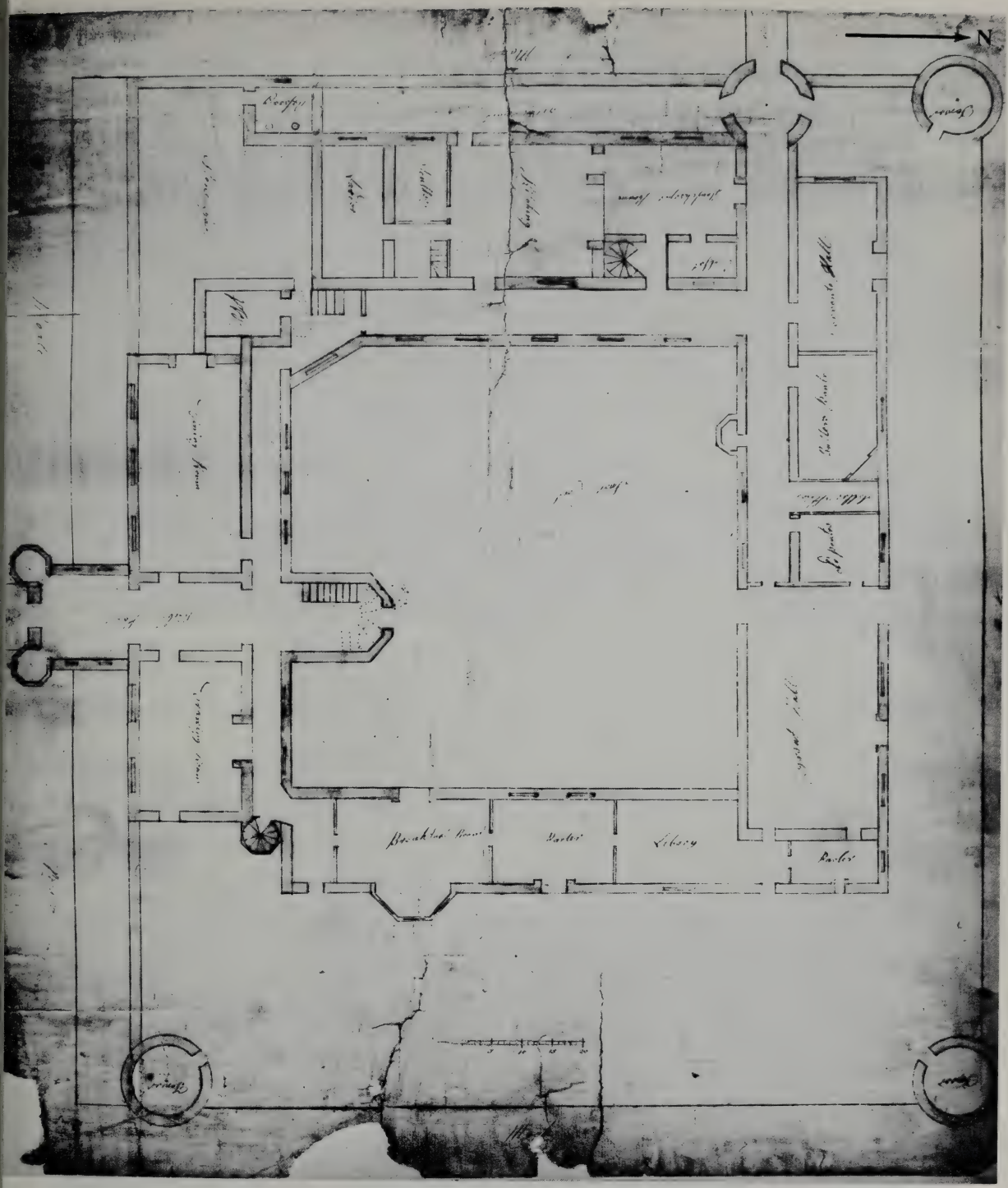
At the end of 1370 he was on the Essex assizes, followed by another array of militia,[58] and early in 1371 was concerned with buying '500 quarters of wheat in Essex, to be threshed and taken to Calais for the nurriture of that town and others'.[59] Then in March he was appointed a collector in Essex for 'a subsidy of 22s. 3d. per parish for the French war'.[60] In June the subsidy was increased to 115s. per parish, so he would be further occupied in travelling once again around the county.[61] Another subsidy 'in aid of war expenses' was ordered in 1377, this time at the rate of 4d. for every man and woman over 14 years of age, 'except true and genuine mendicants', and Thomas Tyrell was one of the collectors for the county of Cambridge.[62] His last contribution to the war effort was in 1380 when he and other local gentry were directed 'to take order for the defence of the coast of Essex against the enemy's galleys and other vessels now there, to assemble and array all men of that county able to defend it, and lead them to the sea coast or to the Thames to resist invasion'.[63]

Wardship of de Vere Estates

In 1369 Thomas Tyrel organised the Essex array of militia with Thomas de Vere, Earl of Oxford. This renowned family had estates in many counties, including Essex, where, at Hedingham, was their chief seat. Thomas, the 8th earl, died in September 1371, and the inquisition held at Chelmsford in October recorded that he held the manor of Downham, charged with certain payments, including 4d. yearly to Thomas

1. (*left*) Poix—the Picardy origin of the Tyrells. The 14th-century rebuild of their 12th-century 'chapelle castrale'; the remains of the castle wall can be seen at the left of the picture.
2. (*centre*) Castleknock. The castle ruins, *c.* 1700.
3. (*below*) Dilwyn church, Herefordshire.

4. Heron Hall—on part of Chapman and André's map of Essex, 1777.



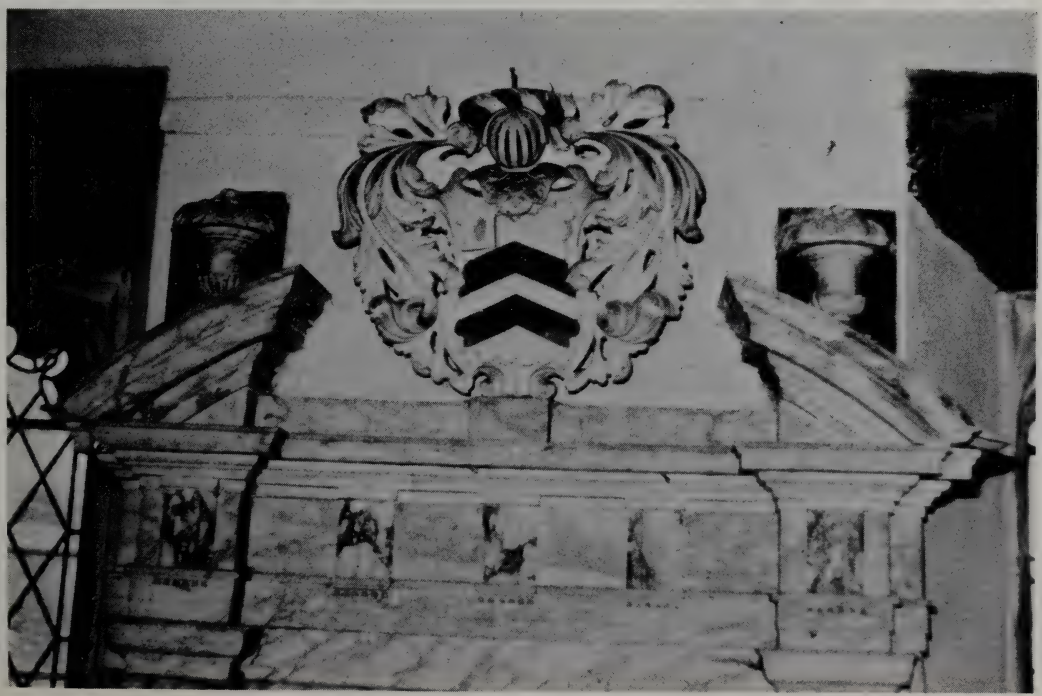
5. Plan of Heron Hall.

6. Ruins of Heron Hall, from *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1805.

7. Ruins of Heron Hall, from *Excursions through Essex*, 1818.

8. All Saints' church, East Horndon—rebuilt in the late 15th century.

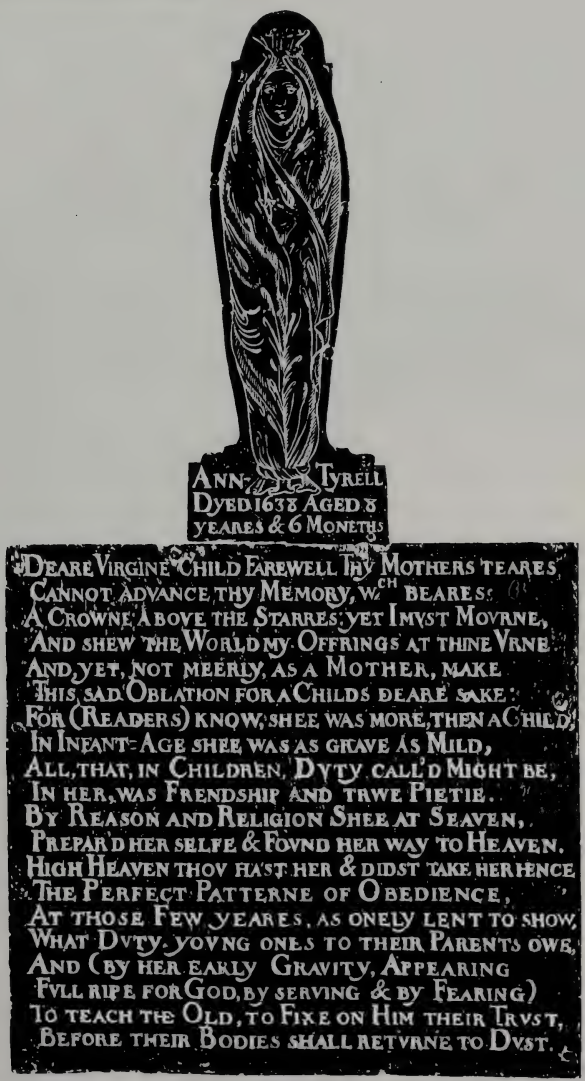
9. East Horndon—monument (helm crest missing) to Sir John Tyrell, Bart., 1729.



10. East Horndon—monument in recess on north side of chancel to Sir Thomas Tyrell, 1476.

11. East Horndon—wall monument by Nollekens (now in Victoria and Albert Museum) to Sir John Tyrell, Bart., the last of the male Tyrells of East Horndon.

12. Downham—brass plates to Thomas Tyrril (*c.* 1380) and his wife, Alice.



13. Stowmarket—wall brass to Ann Tyrell, 1638.

14. Gipping—chancel, *c.* 1500, with 'Tyrell knots' on the buttress.

15. Gipping—priest's door, with inscription to Sir James Tyrell and his wife, and a 'Tyrell knot'.

16. (*right*) Gipping—bench end with 'Tyrell knot'.

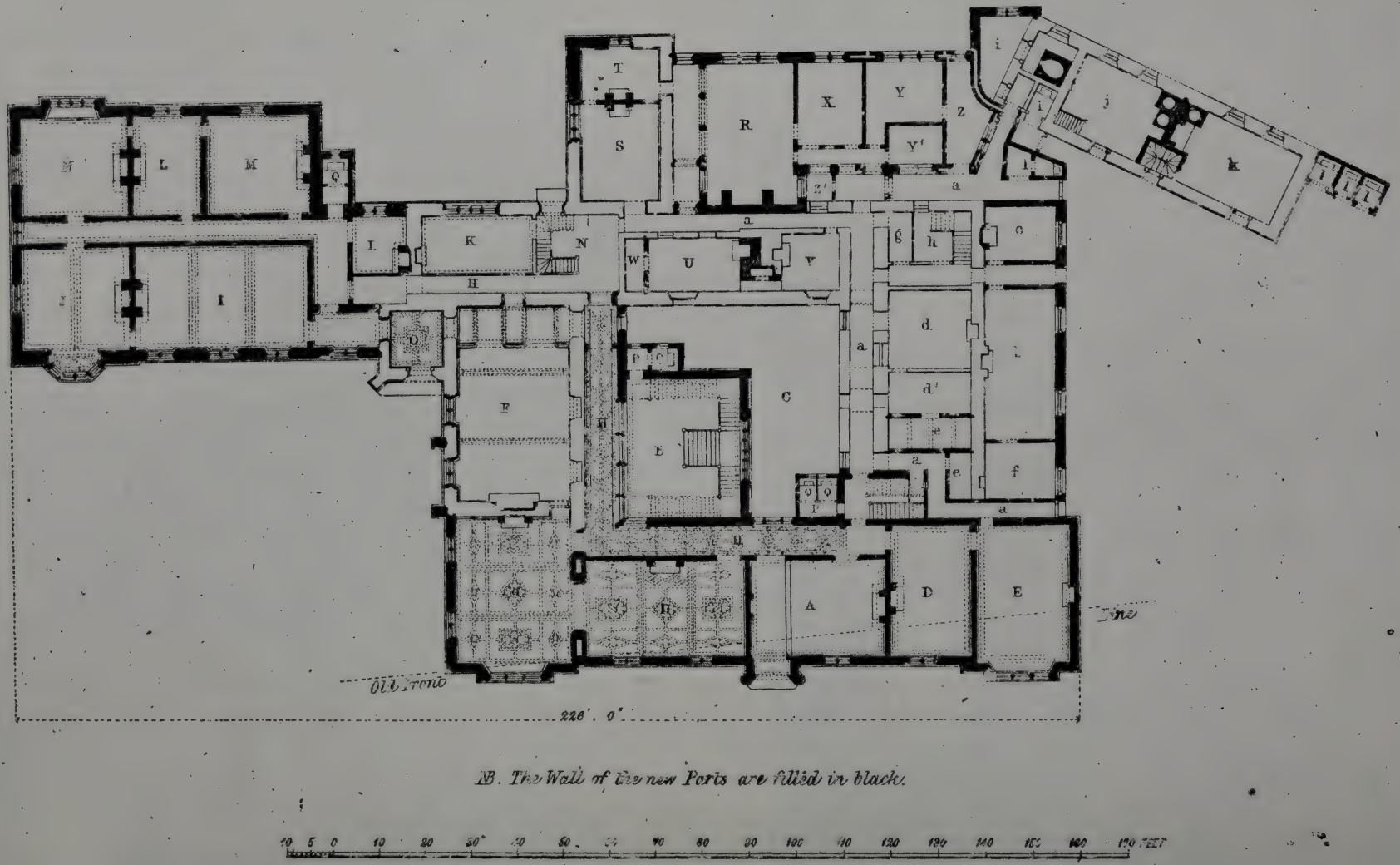
17. (*below*) Hexham Abbey, Northumberland—St. Wilfrid's chair, *c.*681, decorated with 'triquetral' symbol of the Trinity (cf. 'Tyrell knot').

18. Thornton Hall, Bucks., 1848. From the south-east. As rebuilt by Dr. Cotton in the 1750s.

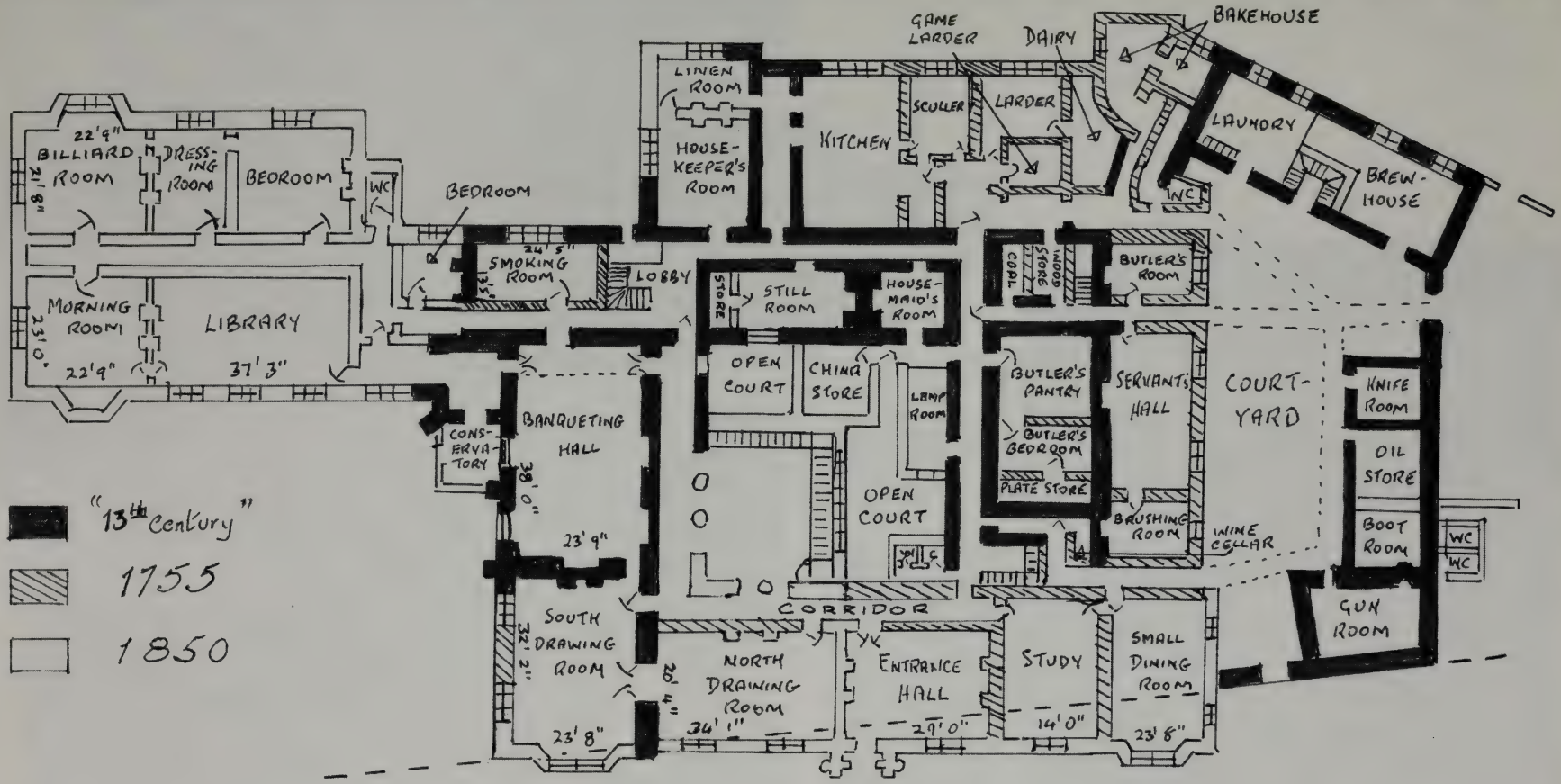
19. Thornton Hall, Bucks., 1848. From the south-west.

20. Thornton Hall, Bucks., as it stands today. From the south-east, following the rebuilding by Richard Cavendish in the 1850s.

21. Thornton Hall, Bucks. The Dining Hall (now the Convent Chapel) after the restoration of the 1850s.



22. Thornton Hall, Bucks. Plan of the rebuild of the 1850s.

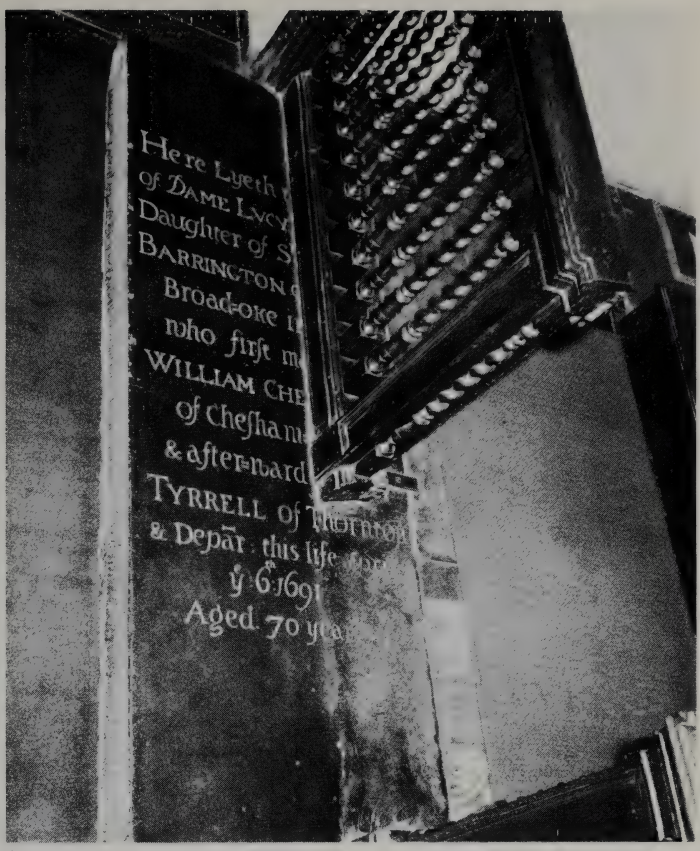


23. Thornton Hall, Bucks. Late 19th-century plan, showing the three main periods of building.

24. (*above*) Thornton Hall, Bucks. 19th-century window glass, Tyrell bearing Ingleton in pretence, for Humphrey and Jane.

25. (*right*) Thornton church. Brass to Jane Ingleton (Tyrell).

26. Chesham Bois, Bucks. Tablet to Dame Lucy, second wife of Sir Toby Tyrrell of Thornton, 1691. (Relaid as sanctuary step and now partly covered by the rail.)

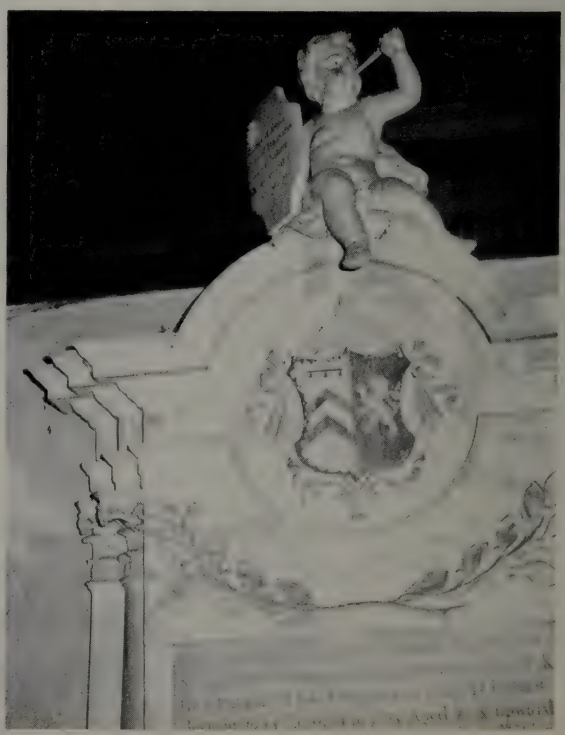


27. Castlethorpe, Bucks. Modern photograph of the Tyrrell manor house.

28. Castlethorpe church. Monument to Sir Thomas Tyrrell, 1671.

29. Grendon Underwood, Bucks. Church monument to Christobella, last of the Tyrrells of Castlethorpe.

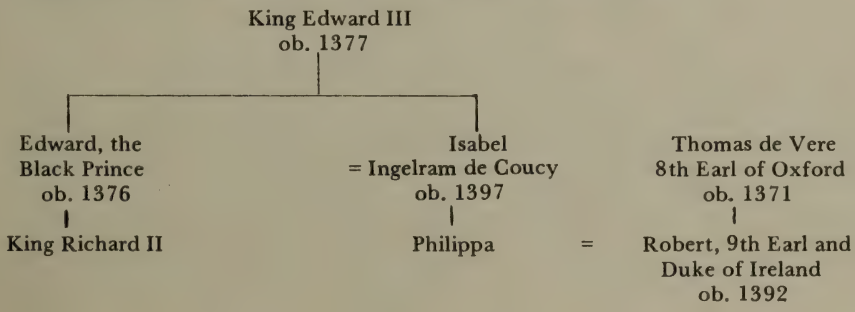
30. Oakley, Bucks. Church monument to James Tyrrell, historian, 1718.



Tyrel, Kt.[64] On the same day the royal writ went out to call the inquisitions post mortem (20 September), Thomas Tirell was appointed as 'keeper and surveyor of all parks in the county of Essex late of Thomas de Veer, in the king's hand by reason of the nonage of his heir',[65] and two months later it was recorded that Thomas Tyrell and two others held the wardship of two-thirds of his manors in Essex.[66] Exactly 12 months after this, another enrolment relates that Thomas Tyrell, John de Estbury and John James were given the wardship of the Manors of Castle Hedingham, Sible Hedingham, 'Bourhall', 'Jelham', Doddinghurst, Fingrith, 'Earl's' Downham with Bures 'Gyfford', Canfield, Stanstead Mounfichet and Bumpstead in Essex, Cockfield in Suffolk, Camps in Cambridgeshire, and Kensington in Middlesex; from the profits of which they were to render £300 yearly at the exchequer.[67]

In 1376 Isabel, Countess of Bedford, was granted £200 yearly 'of the £300 yearly which Thomas Tirell and John James render at the Exchequer',[68] and this records that 'the King's ward, Robert, son and heir of Thomas late Earl of Oxford, has taken to wife Philippa daughter of Isabel'. Thomas Tirell and John James were still holding the wardship under Richard II in 1378, when the other £100 was granted—to two trustees—for the use of Philippa, the wife of Robert de Veer,[69] and Thomas Tyrell was last mentioned in connection with this wardship in 1380.[70]

Robert de Vere came of age in 1382/3, and subsequently became the favourite of King Richard II, who created him Duke of Ireland in 1386. He was soon afterwards forced into exile by the moderates and died from a hunting injury in 1392, having repudiated his wife Philippa and married a Portuguese girl.



Estates

The first reference to Thomas the younger in connection with land was in 1335 when he and his wife Alice as plaintiffs were granted two-thirds, and the reversion of the other third, of 310 acres land, 16 acres meadow, 20 acres pasture, 8 acres wood, and 28s. 8d. rent with the moiety of a messuage in Great Burstead, Langdon and Ramsden Cray.[71] Twenty years later they appeared to be granting this to three men, two of whom were parsons—probably trustees of the estate, but it is not explained why. The enrolment refers only to Great Burstead, but it quantifies the estates as 240 acres land, 15 acres meadow, 90 acres pasture, and 44s. 6d. rent, and one messuage;[72] the total acreage amounts to 345 acres, which compares very closely with the 346 acres total land (excluding the wood) of the first entry, so it appears that the same property was changing hands. Thomas Tyrell would be unlikely to sell for 100 marks an estate for which he had paid £100, though it could be argued that

its value was less in 1355 as a result of the Black Death and the consequent labour shortage.

After his appointment as steward to Isabel in 1362 Thomas took up knighthood, and is referred to in 1363 as Knight of East Horndon;[73] then in October that year he was granted royal licence 'to impark 400 acres meadow, pasture and wood in Ingerauf and Great Horndon'.[16] Also that year he made agreements with the neighbouring townships of Ramsden Cray and Little Warley: in the former Thomas, son of William de Lyston, granted him, with warranty, 'all the lands, rents and services which Thomas, son of William has in the town of Ramsden Cray, with the advowson',[15] and in the latter place he received from Sewall Michel of Canewdon, with warranty, two acres of land and the advowson.[74]

In 1364 Sir Thomas obtained a number of manors in Hampshire and Wiltshire from Thomas, son and heir of Sir Henry Peverel; a family with its roots in Essex. Three charters of 30 January refer to:

(a) Manors of Milton and Chilworth, and other land in Hampshire.
(b) Manors of South Avon, North Avon, Mainsbridge, Lyndhurst and Pennington in Hampshire.
(c) Manor of Barford in Wiltshire.[75]

In February Peverel received the king's licence to enfeoff Sir Thomas in (b) and (c) above,[76] and in April he granted the reversion of South Avon and quitclaimed all the remainder.[77] In June, the king, at the request of Thomas Tyrell 'the present holder of these manors', ratified the grant of a weekly market there made originally by Edward I.[78]

During the next few years Sir Thomas disposed of some of these:

1. The Manor of Pennington was sold in 1365 to John de la Hale, for £100.[79]
2. In 1366 Thomas de Hungerford was pardoned for acquiring in fee from Sir Thomas Tyrell two carucates of land, 15 acres meadow, and 60s. rent in Barford, Wiltshire,[80] for which it would seem he had paid £160.[81] The baileywick of the Forest of Grovely—just north of Barford—was probably associated with this manor, as an exemplification of 1380 relates that this passed from Henry Peverel to his son Thomas, who granted it to Thomas Tyrel, who granted it to Thomas de Hungerford.[82]
3. The Manor of Chilworth was conveyed prior to 1372.[82]
4. Some, or part, of the manor of Mainbridge was conveyed before 1371, in which year it was stated that John Smyth held 20 acres land, five acres meadow, and 15s. rent, acquired from John Daccombe who had acquired it from Thomas Tirel, chivaler.[84]

The main manors of Milton and Avon Tyrell (composed of North Avon and South Avon) both remained in Sir Thomas's family until the end of the 16th century.

Buttsbury in Essex occurs again in 1366 with Thomas Tyrrel, Kt. impleading Robert de Ramsey for lands there on the grounds that they are his by inheritance,[22] and in 1368 Sir Thomas received 64 acres land, 4½ acres meadow and 8 acres wood in Buttsbury, for 20 marks, from Robert de Ramsey, citizen and fishmonger of London.[85] Presumably a different estate in Buttsbury, comprising 21 acres arable and two acres meadow, had been granted in 1367 by Simon Wynter, citizen and goldsmith of London

to Thomas Blount, 'late of John Colville and his wife Perina', the charter of which was witnessed by Sir Thomas Tyrell.[12]

In 1369, Walter Boghurst quitclaimed to 'Thomas Tyrel chivalier and wife Agnes' the Manor of Ramsden Cray and advowson of the church for 200 marks.[86] The name Agnes must be a mistake for Alice who was, from all other entries, the wife of Thomas both before and after this date, and who outlived him, which rules out the possibility of Agnes being a second wife.

1372. John, son of John Osebern, of Wakering, Essex, was ceding for 10 marks to Thomas Tyrell 37 acres land, two acres meadow, and 12s. rent in Downham and South Haningfield.[87] In 1373, a quitclaim in November by Thomas Barwe, clerk, and Thomas Chamberlyn, to Thomas Tirell Kt., and Alice his wife, and the heir of the said Alice, of the Manor of Bekeswell by Chelmsford, and rents in Mulsham,[88] was followed by a ratification in the Hilary session of 1374, wherein Thomas Tyrel and wife were granted an estate for the lives of Richard de Stoke, clerk, and others, in the Manor of Kekeswell, and the rents of Mulsham, rendering one rose[89]—that is, a nominal or 'peppercorn' rent.

What was evidently a trust occurs in 1371 and 1375 when Thomas Tyrell, chivalier, Bartholomew Milton, chivalier, and others were declared to hold the remainder of lands in several places in Suffolk, and a moiety of Steeple in Essex.[90]

1376. Thomas Barewe, clerk, appears again with John Austyn, clerk, and Thomas Warderobere. (Could he be Thomas 'the' Warderober, and synonymous with Thomas 'the' Chamberlain who was associated with Thomas Barewe in 1373?) This document records that Thomas Tyrel, chivalier, and wife Alice, and their heirs are to hold the Manors of 'Hemenales' in Downham, Heron in East Horndon and Ingrave, Beeches in Rawreth and Hockley, Whites in Buttsbury and Ramsden Cray, and 240 acres land, 30 acres pasture, 16 acres meadow and 11s. rent in South and West Haningfield, Downham and Wickford, and the advowsons of the churches in Ramsden Cray and Stock.[91] This sounds like a list of the whole of Thomas's estates in Essex at that date, and the three plaintiffs in the 'action' were almost certainly trustees. Sir Thomas was a very experienced law man and no doubt had everything organised to the best advantage for himself and his family. Only once more does he feature in a land deal—in 1380 he was pardoned for acquiring, without licence, two messuages and 60 acres of land in Great Baddow.[92]

Sir Thomas was alive in February 1381,[93] but died before March 1382.[94] He was buried in Downham church where a small brass plate records:

> Mons. Thomas Tyrell gist icy
> Dieu de s'alme eit verraie mercy.

Dame Alice, Sir Thomas's widow, is mentioned in 1384,[95] when she was granted a life interest in the Manor of Beeches and other lands in Rawreth, Raylegh and Hockley; then an entry in August 1398 concerns the lands in Essex 'lately held for life by Alice',[96] so she must have died shortly before that date. She, too, was buried at Downham, as indicated by another brass:

> Alice q̄ fut la feme de Mons. Thom's.
> Tyrell gist icy dieu de s'alme eit m'cy.

These brasses have apparently been moved from their original position; below them now is a chequy shield of brass which presumably was associated with them in their

old setting, and if so seems to be the arms of d'Adeleigh—chequy or and sable—confirming the 'traditional' pedigree's assertion that Alice d'Adeleigh was the wife of Sir Thomas of Heron of the 14th century—though clearly not a first wife who died without issue. (Plate 12.)

Walter. There is good reason to believe that Sir Thomas was succeeded in his estates by a Walter; there is proof that he was father of John who occurs in the early 15th century as the next in line of the pedigree. The difficulty is that there must have been two Walters, as can be seen from the following list of these references, split into two columns: those connected with Essex, and those without this association.

1364	Witness to a deed of White Roding, Essex.[97]	
1367		Grant for life of the passage of the Tweed at Berwick.[98]
1369	Walter and wife Eleanor re Manor of Avene, Hampshire.[99]	
1376	Witness with Thomas Tyrel Kt. in Essex.[100]	Dispute concerning Tweed ferry, W. T. & Bp. of Durham.[101]
1378	Confirmation of grant of £10 p.a. made 1361.[102]	
1391	Of Essex re estates.[103]	
1392	Owning land in Downham etc.[104]	
1395		Of Tweed ferry deceased.[105]
1406	Of Essex re estates.[106]	

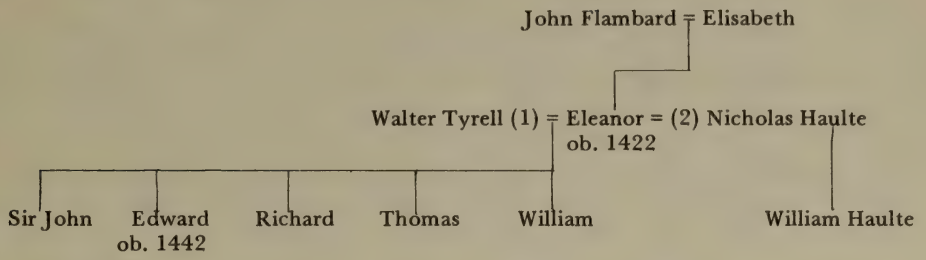
Walter of the Tweed ferry is recorded as deceased in 1395, and there is a Walter 'of Essex' mentioned in 1406, so the two entries cannot concern the same man. Walter of the Tweed is never described as 'of Essex', so he possibly belonged to some other branch of the Tyrells. On the other hand there are no references to the name Walter in other parts of the country, nor to active Tyrells at this date—except for the end of the 'Welsh Border' branch. This ended with the death of Hugh II in 1380, so Walter could not have been a brother or very near relative of his. So Walter of the Tweed possibly belonged to the family established in Essex, but what is the relationship between the two Walters? It is possible to identify a Walter whose wife was Eleanor:

1369. An inquisition refers to Thomas Tyrrel Kt. representing Walter Tyrrel and wife Eleanor, concerning the Manor of Avene.[99]

1422. An inquisition declared that on the day of her death Eleanor, the widow of Nicholas Haute, held the Manor of Avene, granted by Thomas Tirell in the time of Edward III (1327-1377) to Walter Tyrell and the said Eleanor, then his wife. It is further stated that Walter and Eleanor had issue, John Tyrell, who is son and heir and of full age, and to be granted seisin.[107] In the previous year (1421) a *coram rege* judgment awarded to Eleanor the wife of Nicholas Haute restitution of an outstanding debt to her parents, John and Elisabeth Flambard.[108]

1442. The will of Edward Tyrell of Downham, brother of Sir John of Heron and Richard, Thomas and William, refers both to 'Walter Tyrell my father and Eleanor his wife my mother', and to 'my mother, dame Eleanor Haulte'. An executor of his will was William Haute squyer, presumably the son of Nicholas Haulte, though not necessarily of Eleanor.[109] This shows that the wife of Walter was Eleanor Flambard—

who was included in the 'traditional' pedigree, but wrongly placed as a second wife of Sir Thomas—and can be summarised as follows:



When did this Walter die—1395 or after 1406? Upon this depends their family relationship, and there are three possible solutions.

If Walter, husband of Eleanor, died after 1406, then Walter of the Tweed, who died in 1395, could not have been his son; receiving the grant of this ferry in 1367 and probably being the one who was given an annuity in 1361, he must have been born around 1340 or earlier. Eleanor died 82 years after this date, so to be his mother at even, say, 17 years of age, she would have been 99 at her decease. Nor would this accord with the ages of the recorded children of Walter and Eleanor—unknown, but dying from 1437 onwards. Perhaps Walter had a first wife—prior to Eleanor—who was mother of a son, Walter of the Tweed, but there is no evidence for this, and this would mean that Walter (husband of Eleanor) was himself born probably before 1320 which would not fit with his being the son of Thomas the younger. This leaves two possibilities: that Walter of the Tweed was

(1) the father of Walter the husband of Eleanor;
(2) the uncle of Walter the husband of Eleanor.

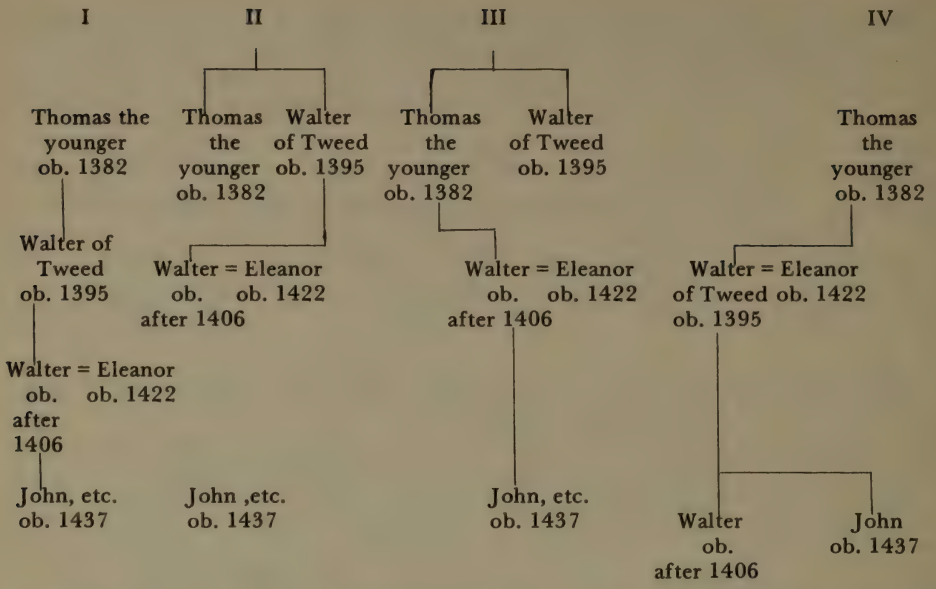
If, on the other hand, Eleanor's husband was Walter of the Tweed, who died in 1395, the Walter of Essex occurring in 1406 could really only be

(3) the son of Walter and Eleanor.

(N.B.—It is virtually impossible for Walter, the eldest son of Sir John, to have been of age by 1406, so he can be discounted.)

Other references to Walter during these years, mentioned above, could apply to anyone of the name connected with Essex, so are no help. If these three suggestions are related to Thomas the younger, to try and define the family descent in the 14th century, it will be seen that, if Walter of Tweed was father of the other Walter, this produces yet another possible combination, which is shown in the pedigree at the top of the following page.

To summarise, Thomas the younger—apart from his Essex estates—acquired manors in Hampshire in 1364, and granted Avene—probably in 1369—to Walter and his wife Eleanor. John was the heir of Walter and Eleanor in this manor and was also the inheritor of the Essex estates. There were two Walters, one who died in 1396, and the other after 1406. There is no record of who was the heir of Thomas the younger or whether he had any brothers or sons. The rest is speculation.



I. Thomas the younger must have been born by about 1310, so might father Walter of Tweed by about 1330; he was certainly married to Alice by 1335. A son, Walter, married to Eleanor by 1369 might then be still under age, possibly explaining why Thomas Tyrell is standing for him, born possibly about 1350. This grant could be providing a home for the newly-weds, given by grandfather, who still held all the family estates—which after his death in 1382 would descend to Walter of Tweed and, in 1395 when he died, to Walter and Eleanor and subsequently to John.

II. If Walter of Tweed was a younger brother of Thomas, he could probably be born somewhere about 1310–1315, and his son, Walter, be born perhaps in the late 1330s. This pedigree supposes Thomas to have no male heir, so that his brother Walter inherited in 1382, or that his son died without heir and the estates fell to his cousin John.

III. Walter of Tweed in this case would not inherit the estates of Sir Thomas which, on his death in 1382, would descend to Walter and Eleanor. As son of Thomas, Walter would probably be a little older—born about 1330 perhaps—and so would be many years older than Eleanor whom he might have married as a girl in her teens when he was perhaps approaching forty.

IV. The same observations apply, as in III, to the age of Walter as son of Thomas. If Eleanor's husband was Walter of the Tweed, then probably all the entries prior to 1395 are to him, and the remaining one in 1406 to his son.

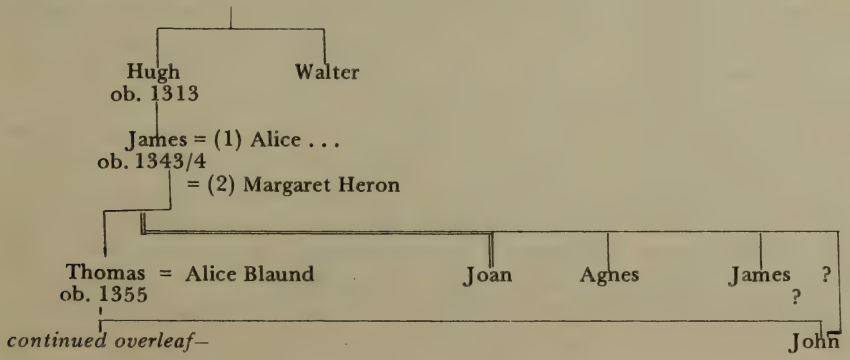
The disadvantage attaching to each of the first three suggestions is that for a number of years—from about 1370 or maybe earlier, until 1395—there would be two adult Walters, both of Essex, implying a need to differentiate between them by the use of the epithets 'elder' and 'younger', but in none of the references to Walter during this period is such distinction made. However, the difficulty can be overcome in the fourth pedigree on the assumption that the younger Walter was still not of age when his father died in 1395, and therefore not 'mentionable'. Supposing that Walter, the presumed son of Thomas, was born in the 1330s and married, in his fourth

decade, the younger Eleanor Flambard—probably in 1369 when Sir Thomas granted them the estate in Hampshire—it is quite possible for his first child, Walter, to be born in say 1375, followed by John and the four other sons in succeeding years. (John's eldest son, and subsequent heir, Thomas, was declared of age in 1417/18,[110] hence was born in 1396/7 when John could have been about nineteen or twenty.) After the death of the first Walter in 1395 his heir would be the Walter who then received mention in 1406, but presumably died childless shortly after this as there are no later references to him, while from 1408 onwards John Tyrrel occurs regularly in connection with Essex and is clearly the holder of the family estates. (John Tyrrel 'of Essex' makes an isolated appearance prior to this—in 1401—but is not designated as of any particular place, so need not at that time have been holding the family properties.[111]) There would be no necessity to mention a son, Walter, in Eleanor's inquisition—the four other known sons are not mentioned—suffice to say that John was of age and the heir.

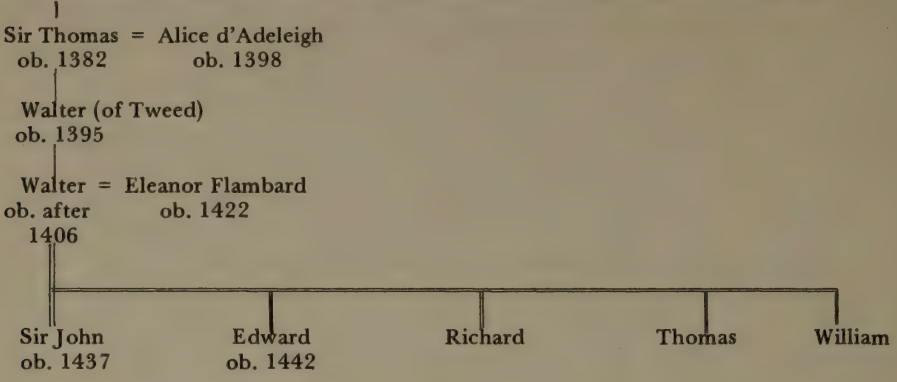
The plausibility of this hypothesis is shaken by the lack of reference to a brother Walter in the will of Edward Tyrell. This lengthy and detailed document explicitly recounts what is evidently Edward's immediate family when he requests masses to be said for them. He mentions his father and mother, Sir John of Heron, and three other brothers, as well as his wife, her first husband, and her father, so it appears less than probable for him not to have included an elder brother Walter if such there was, particularly if he was already dead. One further record exists: in 1402 the collectors of the subsidy on wine in the port of London were 'to allow to Eleanor Tirell, without custom or subsidy, 1 tun and 2 pipes of wine bought and purveyed in Gascony for consumption of her household'.[112] This Eleanor who is not described as 'widow' could be the wife of some other Tyrell, or even a spinster lady, but the chances are that she was the wife of Walter, so that he must have been 'of Essex' who died sometime after 1406, and not 'of Tweed' who died in 1395.

Having weighed the pros and cons for pedigree IV we are obliged to reject it as a solution, and must fall back upon one of the other three. Although none of these may be correct, the available evidence supports each of them fairly equally and it is impossible to choose between them. In the pedigree below I include version I, which I personally prefer, as the relative ages seem most probable, but versions II and III would serve equally well.

Suggested Pedigree of the Early Tyrells of Essex



Suggested Pedigrees of the Early Tyrells of Essex—continued from preceding page—



* * * * *

The Tyrells of Heron

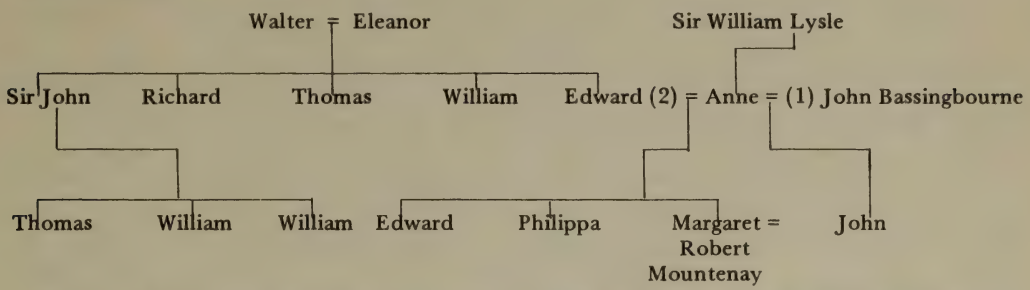
The will of 'Edward Tyrell, Squyer, the elder, dwelling at Downham'[1] (see above, Walter and Eleanor his parents) helps to sort out various members of the family in 1442. It shows that Edward owned various lands in Cambridgeshire which he left to his wife, Anne, in trust for life, and then to his son, Edward; if the latter should die without heir it was to go to his daughters, Philippa and Margaret, for their lives, and on their decease to his nephew, Thomas Tyrell and his heirs. (Thomas was the son and heir of his brother, Sir John Tyrell of Heron, who had died in 1437.)

In Essex, Edward owned land in Southhaningfield and Downham which was entrusted as the Cambridgeshire estates, while property in Hatfield, Hertfordshire, was to be sold 'and the proceeds expended for an honest priest to sing yearly in Downham Church' for his soul and those of Ann, his wife, Walter Tyrell, his father, and Eleanor, his mother, Sir John Tyrell, Sir William Lysle, John Eassingbourne, his wife's first husband, and his brothers, Richard, Thomas and William. Other land in Buttsbury, Essex, was ordered to be sold to provide an annuity for his servant, Robert Beachamp.

His son and heir, Edward, was still under 21 at that time, as also were his daughter, Margaret and her husband, Robert Mountenay, who were to receive, when Robert came of age, an estate 'called Porters in Rochefort Hundred, Co. Essex' under Edward's will. Other lands in Rettenden and South Haningfield, Essex, were willed to 'my bastard son, John', and his London house at 'Dougate' was left to his wife, Anne, for life, then to be sold and the proceeds applied to charity.

Edward was living in 'Tyrell's manor in Downham' which he held by lease from his brother, Sir John Tyrell, and confirmation from Thomas Tyrell, his nephew, and this would revert at the expiration of the term to the chief heirs. He willed that he should be buried 'in the church of the Freres at Chelmsford, in the chapel I have made there in the nave'. During the last 15 years of his life he was Knight of the Shire for Essex on three occasions,[2] Escheator for Essex and Hertfordshire in 1426-27,[3] Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1436-37[4] and a commissioner to levy subsidies in 1436.[5]

From the information in this will a pedigree can be drawn up to show the relationships:



John was the heir of Walter and Eleanor, therefore Edward was undoubtely younger, but whether he was older or younger than Richard, Thomas and William is less certain. As at least two of his three children were under age in 1442 it seems he probably did not marry before about 1420. His parents, Walter and Eleanor, were married before 1369, so he was probably born in the latter part of the 1370s and would thus be about forty when he married Anne. Edward was Anne's second husband, and it is quite possible that she was his second wife, and, as the will nowhere specifies that Anne was the mother of Edward's children, it could be that they were born to him by a first wife. This seems improbable as Edward would surely have included his first wife among those to be prayed for annually, and the conclusion must be that he married but once, to Anne, the widow of John Bassingbourne, probably about 1420 when he was of relatively advanced years. His bastard son, John, was able to inherit his patrimony so he must have been older than the legitimate children, and was presumably a by-blow of Edward's younger bachelor days.

There is confusion about the year of Edward's death; his will was dated between October and December, 21 Henry VI, which would be 1442; yet the Calendar of Fine Rolls records the writs of 'diem clausit extremum' for his various estates on 31 January and 6 February 1442.[6] I can only assume that the latter dates were also 21 Henry VI and would then be two months or so after the will, in what would now be called 1443.

Anne, his widow, outlived him for not much more than a year, as a similar writ following her death is entered on 26 May 1444.[7]

Richard, Thomas and William. It cannot be assumed that these three brothers of Edward were all dead by 1442 because they were included in the list of those whose souls were to be prayed for. Walter, Eleanor, and Sir John Tyrell had already deceased, as had John Bassingbourne, Anne's first husband, and probably Sir William Lysle—the presumed father of Anne, but she herself was still alive.

Richard. There are references to this name in 1405,[8] in 1407 on a commission of enquiry in Sussex,[9] and a further commission in 1408 when it was reported that 'divers woods for a palisade which the King caused to be made for the defence of the base court of the castle of Guynes, at le Bataill Co. Sussex, made and shaped at the ports of Winchelsea and Rye and divers other places in Kent and Sussex, have been stirred by the flow of the sea and carried off by divers lieges of the king'.[10] Several years

elapse before the next reference to a Richard, in 1414;[11] and in 1415 he is called 'Richard Tyrell of Rouceby' (Lincolnshire).[12] Between 1415 and 1420 he acquired, for a consideration of 40 marks, the remainder of an estate of 3 messuages, 300 acres land, 20 acres meadow, 30 acres pasture, 2 acres of woods and 7s. 3d. rent in North Weald Basset, High Ongar, etc., in Essex.[13] Richard Tyrell 'yoman' of Braughing, Hertfordshire, mentioned in 1453 may or may not be the same person,[14] though John Tyrell of Heron was shown as holding a quarter fee in Braughing Hundred in 1428.[15]

Thomas. Thomas Tyrell, the son of John of Heron, was shown to be of age in 1417/8,[16] and there are no references to a Thomas before this date. The first notice after that time is in 1420, when Thomas Tyrell holds one knight's fee in Shelley (or Shellow) Bowells, near Ongar, Essex.[17] Then, in 1428, a Thomas 'Torell' is listed as holding two fees in Ferby and one in Shellow Bowells,[18] presumably the same as in the former reference. Thomas Torell of co. Essex is mentioned in 1432;[19] is associated with Thomas Tyrell (? his nephew) in 1434,[20] and with Edward Tyrell (? his brother) as a commissioner for levying subsidies in 1436.[21] Then, in 1444, a writ of 'diem clausit extremum' was issued on the death of Thomas 'Tirell', who held lands in Essex and Hertfordshire,[22] and who must be the brother of Edward, as his nephew—Thomas, the son of John—occurs in the records for a further 30 years. Within a few months of his death proof of age was taken of John who was declared to be his son and heir.[23]

William. Definition of the other brother of Edward is complicated by several Williams occurring at this period. There was a William, clerk, first noticed in 1394 when he was granted permission to remain for life in England, though born in Ireland 'notwithstanding the proclamation requiring all men born there to return'.[24] In 1397 he was presented to a living in Winchelsea, Sussex,[25] which he exchanged in 1399 for one in Eltham, Kent.[26] Sometime during the next few years he had moved to Woodchurch, Cheshire, which he exchanged in 1406 to return to Winchelsea.[27] He was still holding the living there in 1407[28] when he was also granted the prebend 'in the king's free chapel within the palace of Westminster'.[29] In May 1413 he was described as 'King's Clerk' when granted the prebend in the Cathedral of St. Asaph,[30] but probably died before deriving any benefit from it, as another entry 13 days later records the prebend of Westminster 'vacant by the death of William Tyrell'.[31] Clearly this William did not belong to the Essex family but was a descendant of the Irish branch, as also was another William, who likewise received permission, in 1394, to live in England.[24]

A pardon was given in February 1407 to one Walter Drewet of Pennard indicted of having lain in ambush for and killed William Tirell at Pennard, Somerset on 25 July 1405.[32] This could be the other William who had come from Ireland 11 years previously, or even a different one again—a William was noted under Cornwall in 1371 (q.v.). The most likely candidate for the other brother of Edward was William, a tailor, who features on many occasions from 1400 to 1424.[33] During the first years of this period he was of the Parish of St. Clement Danes, in the City of London, but by 1419 was 'of the town of Westminster'. He disappears from the records after 1424, but William Tirell of Banham, Norfolk, in 1439[34] and William Tyrell concerned with manors in Norfolk in 1455[35] might be the same person retired from business

and settled on the land. But this William of Norfolk could be but a distant relative with a common ancestry in 14th-century Norfolk where possibly arose the Essex branch (*v.s.*).

The Heirs of John

The head of the Essex family when the line clears early in the 15th century was John Tyrrell, the son of Walter and Eleanor, and elder brother of Edward. He is a much-reported figure for the last twenty-five or so years of his life, and from his time succeeding generations are reasonably well documented and authenticated.

In the following section we deal with the immediate family of each successive heir, listing the evidence which authenticates, and pointing out that which is speculative or lacks corroboration. In the former category come wills and funerary monuments as well as official records, in the latter the Heralds' Visitations—uncritical and frequently unreliable—and pedigrees given by Morant (*History and Antiquities of the County of Essex,* 1768), Wright (*History of Essex,* 1836), and Burke (*Extinct Baronetage,* 1844). Another reference source is provided by the notes of the Rev. William Tirrell: much of this is unreferenced, and although the origin of some of it can be deduced, it should mostly be regarded as unproven. From his habit of adding to family lists names with question marks against them, unsupported by any source reference, it must be considered that these are frequently inspired guesses. In the following pedigrees these doubtful sources are abbreviated thus: (B) Burke; (M) Morant; (T) Rev. Wm. Tirrell; (V) Visitations; (W) Wright.

c. 1410–1437. *Sir John Tyrrell,* b. ? *c.* 1370–80, d. 1437

Probably the John admitted to New College, Oxford, 1387; fellow, 1389, B.A., 1391; vac. 1395.[36] He first appears as 'of Essex' in 1409;[37] is referred to as John 'of Downham' in 1410;[38] but in 1412 is recorded as holding the Manor of Heron.[39] It seems possible from this that Walter, his father, died between 1410 and 1412. He was a distinguished parliamentarian, serving as Knight of the Shire for Essex in the parliaments of 1411, 1413, 1417, 1419, 1421, 1422, 1425, 1429, 1430–1, 1433 and 1436–7, and for Hertfordshire in 1427,[40] and was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1427, in 1431 and again in 1437.[41] John held office as Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1412 (T), 1413 and 1423[42] and Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1426 and ? 1434.[43] He is noted as a Burgess for Maldon in 6 Henry VI, 1428 (T), and as a Commissioner of the Peace for Essex in 1419, 1422, 1424, twice in 1427, and 1429, and for Berkshire in 1432.[44]

During 15 of the 19 years from 1419 to 1437 John was on a variety of other commissions, such as 'wards and marriages' 1422,[45] 'fish traps on the River Lea', 1433/34[46] and 'ships along the coast lading and discharging without custom etc.', 1434.[47] Several others were connected with prosecuting the war with France—levies and subsidies, and musters of array.[48] The last of these musters undertaken by John was that of the retinues of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. This earl (the father-in-law of Richard Neville, 'Warwick the Kingmaker') superintended the trial of Joan of Arc at Rouen in 1431, some part of which John Tyrrell might have witnessed when he was in France attendant on

King Henry VI in the early part of that year, with a personal retinue of 520 men-at-arms and nine archers.[49] In the same year he was described as treasurer of the household, and granted an annual pension of 100 marks 'for good service to the last and present kings in their French Wars'.[50] John had served under Henry V in France at the outbreak of the French war, was present among the king's retinue at Agincourt in 1415, and was afterwards appointed Surveyor of the Carpenters of the new works at Calais.[51]

It is interesting to note that the French side of the family also fought at Agincourt: Jean V. Tyrel, Lord of Poix, was killed in the battle, and Jeannet de Poix, the second son of Jean III, was taken prisoner by the English.[52]

From 1429 to 1436 John was Chief Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster in no fewer than 13 counties, at various times, viz.: 1429, Cambridge and Essex; 1430, Norfolk; 1431, Berkshire, Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Nottingham and Yorkshire North; 1432, Cumberland, Essex, Hereford, Leicester and Shropshire; 1433, Dorset, Essex and Somerset; 1434, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkshire East and Yorkshire North; 1435, Berkshire, Cambridge, Cumberland, Dorset, Essex, Somerset, Yorkshire East and Yorkshire West; 1436, Yorkshire West.[53]

John appears to have taken up the honour of knighthood late in life: although he was referred to as 'John Tyrell, king's knight' in the grant of a pension in 1431 this probably alludes to his status in the household rather than to his rank, as it is not until 1433[54] that he becomes known as John Tyrell Kt.

He married, first, Alice, the daughter of Sir William Coggeshall, and Antiocha, his wife, recorded in the inscription around the incised slab in East Horndon church commemorating the death of Alice in 1422. Antiocha is thought to have been the daughter, by his first wife, of Sir John Hawkwood, the military adventurer from Sible Hedingham in Essex, where a tomb-chest monument is supposed to be a cenotaph in his honour. He served in France with Edward III and the Black Prince, and after the treaty of Bretigny in 1360 led a band of men-at-arms into Italy where his 'White Company' (immortalised in the eponymous novel of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle) fought as mercenaries. Sir John assisted and opposed each of the main contestants as occasion offered, and ended his long career in 1392 as commander-in-chief of the Florentine army. He was given a public funeral by the Republic when he died in 1394, and was buried in Florence Cathedral, where he is commemorated by a fresco painted by Paolo Uccello.[55]

The East Horndon tomb records that Alice bore John 10 children, six boys and four girls, named by Weever and Newcourt (v.i. 'All Saint's church') as follows:

(1) *Walter,* who evidently pre-deceased his father, appears only once in the records as Knight of the Shire for Essex in 4 Henry V (1417-18).[56]
(2) *Thomas,* who succeeded his father in 1437.
(3) *William senior,* the founder of the Tyrells of Gipping and Stowmarket (q.v.)
(4) *John.* Stated to have been 'of Horndon on the Hill and Wivenhoe' (T). A John Tyrell, ‚draper' of London in 1461 may or may not be the same person.[57]
(5) *William junior,* the progenitor of the Tyrrells of Beeches (q.v.).
(6) *John,* clerk. A writ of diem clausit extremum on the death of John Tyrell, clerk, of Essex was issued in 1445;[58] who could well be the same man recorded as: John Tyrell, rector of Polebrook, Northamptonshire, adm.

1 May 1436, vac. April 1437; rector of Redgrave, Suffolk, adm. 14 January 1437; rector of Hauxton, Cambridgeshire, adm. 15 September 1437, vac. August 1443.[36] Or an alternative candidate could be John Tyrell (Terell), Franciscan Friar, Lichfield Convent in 1428 and in 1452; Oxford Convent 1434; orgained acolyte 18 September 1428; presented to hear confessions in diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 22 October 1545.[36]

(7) *Alice.* A charter of feoffment of various lands in Essex in 1419 refers to 'William Skrene the younger and Alice his wife, daughter of John Tyrell'.[59]

(8) *Elisabeth.*

(9) *Alianor.*

(10) *Daughter,* name lost, ? a nun.

John died in 1437, and was buried in the church of the Augustine Friars in the city of London, as was his second wife, Catherine.[4] We do not know who this Catherine was, the only reference being to 'John Tyrell and wife Catherine' in 1424.[60] [*But see* Chapter 10.]

1437–1476. *Sir Thomas.* Succeeded on the death of his father, John.

He is first recognisable in 1449 as Thomas Tirell Kt., on a commission of payments of deduction from subsidy in Essex;[61] the Thomas Tyrell (or Tirell) Esq. noted as Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1440 and coming to parliament in 1442[62] may have been he, but could equally well have been his uncle who died in 1444.

An enrolment of 1459 declares Sir Thomas, son of John and Alice, to be the heir of certain lands granted to Sir William Coggeshall in 1394 and produces the rather curious statement that he is aged forty years or more.[63] This should surely read *sixty* years or more, as his proof of age had been taken in 1417,[16] at which time he must have been at least twenty-one as this was not an inquisition determined by the death of his father.

He became Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1459,[64] was granted keeping of certain manors in Essex in 1460,[65] and the following year was granted, for £20 per annum, the Manor of Havering atte Bower, Essex,[66] and in 1463 he was a commissioner for levying subsidies in Essex.[67] In 1466 Sir Thomas Tyrell was a witness to a charter of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford;[68] and a note of 1469 records that Richard, son of Richard Malgrave, had died seised of 30 acres of land called 'Seales' in Little Bursted, held of Thomas Tyrell Kt.[69]

Thomas died in 1476 and directed in his will that he be buried in the chancel of East Horndon church, and a memorial raised to him and his wife.[70] (Plate 10.) This will subsequently be discussed under All Saints' church, for the restoration of which he appears to have been largely responsible. The inquisition post mortem states that he held, in Essex; East Horndon Manor, Tyrell's Manor in Buttsbury, messuages and tenements and lands in Downham, the Manors of Great and Little Sampford, Cray's Manor, and land in South and West Hanningfield, and in Ramsden Belhouse. In Hampshire, among other lands, Avon Manor, and 40 messuages, a mill and divers lands in Avon Ripley, Sopley, Murdyng, and Milton Manor, held of the king as of his castle of Winchester. In Cambridgeshire; Shepereth, Malketon and Melreth, of the Honour of Richmond. Also in Essex he held the Manor of Whitehall and 20 messuages,

200 acres of arable, 40 acres of meadow, 40 acres of pasture, 60 acres of wood in Great and Little Bursted, Donton, East Horndon, Ingrave, Downham, Ramsden Delhouse and Shenfield as of the Duchy of Lancaster. Also the Manor of St. Margaret's.[71]

In common with wills of that period the last testament of Sir Thomas expresses profound sentiments of piety and hope for heavenly mercy and grace. Towards this end Thomas already had a box of 12 sealed certificates 'by the which I am made a broth^{r} of divers houses of religion. I woll that w^{t}out delaye after my decease the said . . . be sent and delivered sep'ately to the houses that they came from and ev'y house to have 20s. (except Christchurch, Canterbury which was to receive 40s) that the religious people of ev'y of the same houses . . . shall pray sp'ially for me, and for Dame Anne my wife, my fader, my moder, and for all them that god wolde I shulde pray for'.

Each of the five houses of friars in London was bequeathed 10 shillings so that they would 'syng a Trentall for me and etc.'—that is thirty masses. Five shillings was also allotted to the Friars of Chelmsford for the same purpose, and two houses of nuns also received sums of money to pray for him—£3 6s. 8d. for Barking and £3 0s. 0d. to Stratford le Bow. To the churches of 'the townes that I have lived in, Ingrave, Downton, Little Bursted, Little Warley, Buttsbury, Stock and Hanningfield, Grays, Springfield, Shepreth, Melreth, Mulketon, Sopley and Milton, each 6s. 8d., and to the parishioners there 3s. 4d. 'towards the churche werks and the replacions of the ornaments of the churches aforesaid'.

Sir Thomas left to the 'Churche of Esthornedon aforesaide my vestment of blue clothe of golde w^{t} the cope, and two tunycels of the same, and w^{t} thapparrall; and also a masboke, and a gilte chalice that Sir William Wylby gave thider to be praied for for ev'ry Sunday . . .'. Bequests of vestments to the church occur quite commonly at this time, and it will be seen that John Tyrill of Beeches made a similar reference in his will of 1494 to blue vestment. In both cases this would presumably be the colour of the Tyrell livery—derived from the chevrons of their coat of arms—and as such used by their domestic chaplains. A similar bequest can be seen in a neighbouring Essex family when Dame Elisabeth, widow of Sir Maurice Bruin, of South Ockendon (the parents of Elisabeth who married Thomas Tyrell of South Ockendon, the son of Sir Thomas of Heron), in her will of 1471 left 'to the use of the pisshe church aforesaid the mass boke, ye portens, the chaleys, and all the vestments now belonging unto the chapell of my manor place of South Wokyngton aforesaid'.

Sir Thomas also made gifts to East Horndon church of two books: the first was Bartholomaeus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, a popular volume of encyclopaedic knowledge in 19 parts, the 14th-century author of which was an English Franciscan friar named Glanvill; and, secondly, *legenda Sanctorum*—a medieval hagiography. Both of these gifts carried the request for further prayers for himself and his family.

Sir Thomas married Anne, the daughter of Sir William Marney of Layer Marney, by whom he at least four sons and one daughter. In his will are mentioned' Sir William, Humphrey, Robert and Ann, the wife of John Darcy. The second son is said (B and M) to be Thomas of South Ockendon, and these sources also give another daughter, Elisabeth, married to (1) Robert Darcy, and (2) Richard Haute.

1. *Sir William.* A Lancastrian supporter, he was knighted at the 'battell of Northampton', 1460.[72] In parliament, 1449–54 (T), noted as of Essex in 1467 and 1468.[73] He was killed in the Battle of Barnet on Easter Day, 1471, when Edward IV defeated the Lancastrians under the Earl of Warwick.[74]

Sir William was buried in the Augustine Friars' church in the City of London, and in the will of his father, Thomas, was the item 'a stone to be ordeigned for Sir William Tyrrell, my sonne, with his image, and the ymage of Dame Alianor his first wife thereuppon, to be made wt their Armes and scripture about them, the which stone shall be laide uppon his burying place in frere austyns of London'. This Alianor or Eleanor was the daughter of Sir Robert Darcy, kt., of Maldon, and sister of John and Robert, who had married Ann and Elisabeth, her husband's sisters. Another daughter of Sir Robert Darcy was Alice, who married John Clopton of Kentwell. In Long Melford church, Suffolk, are the rearranged portraits in glass of several members of the Clopton family, among which is a figure of Dame Eleanor Tyrrell and her arms: Tyrrell with a label impaling Darcy.[75] The shield above the figure shows 'argent two chevrons azure and a border engrailed azure' with no label, but Eleanor's gown bears the arms with a label, again with the border wrongly tinctured.

No notice occurs of Sir William's second wife and it is not, therefore, apparent by whom he had issue:

(1) Son, Thomas, who was the family heir on the death of his grandfather, Sir Thomas, in 1476.

(2) Daughter, Alice, married John Rochester (M).

(3) Daughter, Maud, married Richard White (V. Hants., 1530–1634). *Susan Tonge,* said to be the daughter of Maud and Richard White of Hutton, Essex, was the wife of Thomas Tonge, Charenceux King of Arms, who attended Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and was present at the coronation of Ann Boleyn—he died 1534–36. Susan, who survived him by about thirty years, was said to be the only lady connected with a College of Arms who was sufficiently wealthy to exchange gifts with the royal family. When Queen Mary went to the Tower of London on the day before her coronation, Susan was one of the 10 ladies and gentlewomen who followed in chariots, all dressed in crimson velvet and the horses caparisoned in the same material. The ambassador of the Emperor Charles V noted that 'Mrs. Clarentius' alone was allowed to share Mary's innermost secrets, and recommended the Emperor to make her a present for her assistance to him in his negotiations with the Queen in connection with the proposed marriage to Philip of Spain. She was first Lady of the Bedchamber and at Mary's funeral was given a place of honour in the third chariot. On the accession of Elizabeth, Susan retired to the Continent, disliking the Protestant tenets, but in spite of the intercession of the Spanish ambassador the Queen demanded her return on pain of forfeiture of her possessions. It is not known where and when she died.[76]

2. *Thomas of South Ockendon,* ancestor of the Thornton Tyrells.

3. *Humphrey of Warley* (q.v.). Buried at East Horndon.

4. *Robert. See* Wivenhoe.

5. *Ann,* married to John Darcy, son of Sir Robert Darcy of Maldon.
6. *Elisabeth,* married first Robert Darcy, brother of above, and second Richard Haut (M), who was probably the grandson of Nicholas Haulte, the second husband of Eleanor, wife of Walter Tyrrell (V. Kent, 1619-21).

1476-1512. *Sir Thomas,* son of Sir William, succeeded on the death of his grandfather, Sir Thomas. The evidence of his will, dated 26 August 1510 and proved 16 October 1512, shows that he married firstly Anne, the daughter of Richard Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley (Morant gives Elisabeth), and secondly Beatrice. She evidently survived him only a short time as her will was proved in the same year—prior to her husband's—but in this she describes herself as 'Beatrice Tirel widowe late wyff of Thomas Tyrell Knyght'. She was the daughter of Sir John Cokayne of Cokayne Hatley, Bedfordshire.[77]

Sir Thomas requested burial 'in the South side of the quere of East Horndon', but Beatrice preferred to be buried in Bow church in the City of London, 'where John Sutton my first husband is buried'.[78]

Both wills refer to one child only, a son, Thomas, but Morant credits them also with a daughter, Beatrice, wife of Anthony, the second son of Sir John Bruges, Lord Mayor of London.

If there were a daughter one would expect her to receive some legacy, however small, from one or other of her parents, particularly her mother. But Beatrice quite clearly disposes of all her worldly goods without any such mention. She lays aside 40 shillings 'for breaking my ground and necessaries' (i.e., her burial), 20 shillings for Bow church, and the residue of her estate to be disposed of 'for my soul as they shall think best' by her two executors. Each of these was to receive 40 shillings, and her son, Thomas, was to oversee the execution 'taking for his labour my best primer, my wedding ryng, a cross of golde w^{t} a pece of the holy cross therein, praiying for the gyvers thereof to me, and a nother [*sic*] crosse w^{t} salutacion of our lady'. Some of these are surely items a woman would leave to her daughter if there was one?

In the will of Sir John Tyrell of Little Warsley, 1541, is mentioned 'Anthony Brigge my son in law'. Admittedly this is some thirty years later than the death of Sir Thomas of Heron, but it may be that Morant has made an error in placing him here.

Whereas some of the siblings listed by Morant in each generation may be subject to verification, the main heirs are substantially correct, but at this point his dating becomes thoroughly erroneous. The Sir Thomas under consideration, son of Sir William, he states died in 1476, evidently confusing him with his grandfather of the same name, who died that year, and furthermore he records the death as 1510 for the subsequent Thomas, son, as we have seen, of the one under present discussion.

Thomas was Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, November 1480,[79] was knighted in 1487 and his arms are recorded as Argent, two chevrons azure within a border engrailed gules; and in 1497 he was one of 14 knights made Bannerets at the Battle of Blackheath.[72]

1512-? *c.* 1531. *Sir Thomas,* Succeeded his father Thomas. He was knighted in 1513 'at Touraine in the church, after the Kinge came from masse, under his banner in the church'.[72] His arms are then given as Argent, two chevrons azure within a border engrailed gules, quarterly Argent, a cross between 4 escallops sable (Coggeshall).

Crest. a boar's head erect Argent, in its mouth a peacock's tail proper. He was Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, January 1518.[79]

Sir Thomas married Constance, the daughter of Sir John Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and the will of his eldest son, John, showed that they had eight children, six sons and two daughters. John died in 1540 and the statement in his will that 'after the decease of my said father . . . my own time has been but short', seems to indicate that Sir Thomas had died only a few years previously. (N.B.—Morant gives his death at 1510, confusing him with his father.) John presented to Stock rectory in 1534 so his father must have died prior to this.

The Grey Friars of Colchester

An account of the Friary for the first year after the dissolution mentions 'the site of the house, the hall called "le olde halle", the house called "le fermerye", the chambers called "Syr Thomas Tyrells lodgynge", the kitchen, the bakehouse, two little gardens and four acres of Land'.[80] This could, unfortunately, refer to any one of three called Sir Thomas, but the inference is that one of them had a very close connection with the Friary, probably as a lay brother, so in all probability he could be buried there. If so, the Sir Thomas in question must be he who died *c.* 1531, as the other two were both buried at East Horndon.

Children of Sir Thomas and Constance Blount:

(1) John Tyrell Esq. who succeeded his father.

(2) Henry, who succeeded John.

(3) Sir William, Knight of Rhodes, i.e., a Knight Hospitaller of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He outlived the dissolution of his order in England, and was interred in the church of St. Martin, Ludgate, as appears by the following entry in 'Machyn's Diary'; '1557 the XVI day of the same month (Nov.) was bered at Saint Martens in Ludgatt Master . . . Terrell Captayn of the Galee and Knyght of Rodes sumtyme was; with a cote penon and ii baneres of emages and iii hareldes of arms and ii whytt branches and xii torchys and four greet rapurs'.[81]

(4) Thomas, married Margaret, the daughter of Hugh Daniell of Stoke by Clare, Suffolk (Vis. Suffolk, 1651). The will of George Daniell, Margaret's brother, proved in 1566, bequeaths his properties in Stoke and Asshen to Francis Tyrell, son of Thomas and Margaret, and refers to 'niece Tyrell' and other nieces.[84]

(5) Charles. ?

(6) George. (Morant gives another Thomas.) After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, George, an ardent Catholic, retired with his wife and children to the Netherlands where they fell into extreme poverty. *See below:* Anthony, Renegade Priest.

(7) and (8). Two daughters, given by Morant as Catherine and Anne, but John's will refers only to 'sister Keble and sister Knight', their married surnames.

1531 (?)-1540. *John Tyrell Esq.* married Anne, the daughter of Sir William Browne, Lord Mayor of London. She subsequently became the second wife of Sir William Petre,

whose first wife was said to be Gertrude, daughter of Sir John Tyrrell of Warley (q.v.). John and Anne had two daughters according to Morant: Katherine, aged seven years, and Gertrude, aged six months, at their father's death. John's will mentions only Katherine, and does not disclose her age. She later married Sir Richard, the son of John Baker of Sissinghurst, Kent, Chancellor of the Exchequer to Henry VIII (V. Kent., 1619-211). This visitation pedigree states that Katherine was the daugher of John Tyrrel, 'younger son of Thomas Tyrrell Kt. by his first wife'. One of the executors of John's will was John Browne of London, gentleman, probably brother of Anne, and it is certainly noteworthy that William Browne, Alderman of London, had been one of the executors of the will of John's grandmother, Beatrice, in 1512, indicating a long-standing family friendship, if not relationship, prior to John marrying Anne.

Anne was buried with her second husband at Ingatestone, where is the alabaster tomb-chest, between the chancel and south chapel, of Sir William Petre, Secretary of State to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary, and Privy Counsellor, 1572, and his wife. John Tyrrell was presumably buried as requested in his will in the church of 'Este Hornedon' to which he bequeathed 10 shillings 'to the reparacons of the chuche yarde pale'. His interment is further discussed in connection with the Petre Chapel in the later section on All Saints' church, East Horndon (q.v.). He left in his will, suits of armour to his brother 'harry' and Lord Mountjoie (his father-in-law or brother-in-law). His mother was left four marks, and his other brothers and sisters each 40 shillings (three marks), and in addition Charles and George received all his wearing apparel.

1540-1583. *Sir Henry Tyrell.* Succeeded his brother John. He married Thomasine, daughter of William Gounston of London, Esq. (M). However, the Visitation of Suffolk, 1612, states, under Sulyard, that Margaret, the daughter of Sir John Sulyard of Wetherden married Sir Henry Tirrell, Kt. If this is a true statement—and in 1612 the event was recent enough to be clearly remembered—then Sir Henry must have been married twice, as his wife, Thomasine, is proven by the memorial in Downham church (v.i.). His children, traditionally by Thomasine were:

(1) Thomas, who succeeded.
(2) Bennetta, married Edward Moone (M).
(3) Hawise, married (1) John Danielle of Messing; (2) Stephen Ceckingham (M). In Wetherden church is a memorial to John Daniell, Esq. of Messing, Essex, who married Avice, daughter of Sir Henry Tyrell, Kt. 1584.
(4) Gertrude, married John Browne of Fidlers in Writtle (M).
(5) Thomasine, married Francis Browne of Radwinter (M).
(6) Alianor, married Henry Palmer of Dens Hill (M).

and several others (M). One of these might be a Humphrey of Buttsbury, who matriculated in 1586, aged 15 (Alum. Oxon., 1560-1714) as he does not appear to fit anywhere else.

Note.—Re Bennetta and Thomasine above, Vis. Suffolk, 1561, states Sir Henry Noone of Shelfhanger, Kt. m. Thomasine daughter of . . . Tyrell of . . . in Essex;

and Vis. London, 1633–35, gives Francis Browne of St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, m.1 . . ., daughter of Sir Henry Tirell, Kt., of Heron. The Rev. William Tirrell produces a few more offspring:

Margery, married Richard Freshwater of Heybridge (T).
William, d. 1571, married Thomasine Tyrrell of Raweth (T).
John, ob. s.p.
Robert, ob. s.p. A Robert 'possibly son of Sir Harry Tyrell of Heron' matriculated at Christ's, Cambridge, in 1545.[83]

Henry was one of the company of knights dubbed by King Edward VI on the day of his coronation, in 1547, 'to the nombre of 40, in lieu of the Bathe, w'ch then could not be perfourmed accodinge to all cremonyes thereto belonginge,the tyme for that pourpose being to shorte'.[71] His arms, as given, are the same as those recorded for his father, viz.: Tyrell and Coggeshall quarterly, crest as before.

He is said to have been Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1547 (T) and again in 1551 (M). In this latter year he was noted as one of the four governors re-founding, as King Edward VI Grammar School, the old Chelmsford Grammar School which was originally founded in the late 14th century.[84] In 1554 the Privy Council ordered Sir Henry Tirell, Anthony Browne and William Barneys 'to call before them the inhabitants of Ongar, and the widow of William Morris and examining the parties that without authority of their own heads attempted lately to pluck down the church walls there'.[85]

He died in 1588 and was buried in Downham church, where he and his wife are commemorated by a brass plate.

HERE LYETH BVRIED GOOD SR. HENRIE TERRELL
KNIGHT & DAME THOMASSIN HIS WIFE WHO
DECEASED THE 20 OF MAY IN THE YERE 1588

1588–? 1609. *Thomas Tyrell, Esq.* Aged 40 when his father died.[86] Morant states that he was afterwards knighted, but there is no Thomas listed in Metcalfe between 1513 and 1606, and Newcourt states that 'Thomas Tyrell Esq. son of Sir Henry Tyrell' held the manor and advowson of Ramsden Cray in 1591,[87] so it would seem unlikely that he did become a knight. He married Mary, the daughter of Sir John Sulyard of Wetherdon, Suffolk, according to Morant, but the Visitation of Suffolk, 1612, makes no mention of this marriage, showing two daughters of Sir John Sulyard marrying Tyrrels—Ann, wife of John (of Gipping), and Margaret, wife of Sir Henry, already referred to in connection with Thomas's father. There is evidently something wrong with the pedigrees at this point, but no evidence to disclose the error.

Children of Thomas:

(1) John (M).
(2) Thomas of Ramsay Tyrells (M) (q.v.).
(3) Anne, married John Oliffe of Ingatestone (M).
(4) Hawise, married Francis Dacre of the North (M).

Morant declares that 'Sir' Thomas died 25 September 1592,[88] and his place of burial remains unknown. A further complication to Morant's pedigree is provided

by the will of 'Thomas Tirrell of Downham' who died in 1609.[89] This was signed in the presence of, among others, Thomas Tyrell and John Tyrell, and the testator bequeathed lands to his sons-in-law John Oliffe and Thomas Wallinger, and made a gift of £500 to his daughter Avice. This would match very well with the family of Thomas as given by Morant, the witnesses being his two sons, John Oliffe, a son-in-law, and Avice is synonymous with Hawise. It just requires the addition to Morant's list of another daughter married to John Wallinger. There can be little doubt that this is the same person as Morant's 'Sir Thomas', but the question then raised is whether this was Thomas, the heir of Sir Henry, or some other Thomas, in which latter case Morant's pedigree for the Tyrells of Heron is completely disrupted.

Note.—*The Victoria County History of Essex* records that some Essex men were concerned with the Gunpowder Plot, and quotes 'Evidence was also taken as to the connexion of the vicar of Kelvedon with the conspirator Tirrel'.[90]

? 1609–1647. *Sir John Tyrell,* of Springfield and Heron. Aged 20 in 1592,[88] he is stated to have married (1) Elisabeth, the daughter of Sir John Croke, Chief Justice of the King's Bench (M). (2) Jocosa, the daughter of John Baker of Sissinghurst, Esq. (M), but had no issue, and been succeeded by his brother, Thomas of Ramsey Tyrells (M); no date given. 'He died *c.* 1624' (T).

Monument at Downham: 'Here lyeth buried Joyce late wife of John Tyrell Esq. and daughter of John Baker, Esq. who deceased . . . June 1594'.

Monument at Chilton: 'Here lyeth Elizabeth Tyrril late wife of Sr. John Tyrril of Heron Kt. and daughter of Sir John Croke of Chilton Kt. who had one daugher named Dorothy who dyed in her infancie and the said Elizabeth died the 16th of February A.D. 1631 being the 57 yeare of her age'.

There can be no doubt from these monuments that Joyce was the first wife and Elisabeth the second, and furthermore that John was not knighted until after 1594. He was, in fact, made knight in 1603, but it is not clear from the record whether he was the John knighted at Beavercastle on 23 April, or at Whitehall on 23 July, before the coronation of the king,[91] though the latter is specified as of Essex.

John is recorded as Patron of East Horndon in 1608 and 1619, and Little Warley presentations (which are all by the Tyrells of Heron) shows a John Tyrrell Kt. presenting in 1631.[92] The will of 'Sir John Tyrrell the elder of Heron, Essex' of 1647 states that he has 'long since settled great part of my estate on my nephew Sir John Tyrrell son of my brother Thomas deceased',[93] which alters the order of succession as given by Morant, excluding Thomas of Ramsey Tyrells from his position as head of the family. Sir John requested in his will 'to be buried by my deceased wife at Chilton, Bucks.', but there is neither monument in the church nor entry in the register to indicate that this wish was carried out. The reason for this may well be the Civil War, for at that time Chilton was in a kind of no-man's land between the parliamentary garrison at Aylesbury and royalist forces at Borstall, and under the circumstances it is probable that he was buried at East Horndon.

1647–1676. *Sir John Tyrell,* of Springfield and Heron; born *c.* 1583. He married (1) 14 December 1624 Elisabeth, the only daughter of George Evelyn of West Dean in Wiltshire Esq (V), Clerk in Chancery (M). She died of consumption February 1630

and was buried at West Dean (M). They had one daughter, Elisabeth, born 6 October 1629, married Humphrey Forster, Esq. (M), ? of Aldermaston (T). 'Daughter Forester'. in Sir John's will.[94] (2) June 1630 Martha, the daughter of Sir Lawrence Washington of Stonage, Wiltshire, Register in Chancery (M). (Sir Lawrence of Stonage was cousin to Lawrence of Wicken, the father of Rev. Lawrence, whose two sons, Lawrence and Colonel John, emigrated to America. Colonel John was great-grandfather of George Washington.) They had five children:

(1) Lawrence, born 1 November 1632 at Springfield. Died 1652 (East Horndon Register). In the will of Sir John, 1676,[94] following immediately upon the bequest to his wife, Martha, of various goods and chattels, he was 'desiring her to doe what she can conveniently for our grand child Martha Tyrel whose hard fortune is in danger to lose her Portion by the Bankers'. This grandchild was not the daughter of Thomas, who was still unmarried in 1676, and seemingly not of John, Bart., so must have been the only child of Lawrence, who died at the age of 20: if he had left a son the boy would have been heir to Heron, but in default of a male heir, John, the second son, inherited the family properties and there would be little but charity left for a daughter of Lawrence, still unmarried at the age of 24 or more. It would seem that a sum of money for her marriage portion had been laid out for Martha, possibly bequeathed by her father, and that this had been invested with the bankers. During the Commonwealth the goldsmiths emerged as the government bankers, and Charles II relied heavily upon them for advances in anticipation of revenue. These bankers were lending to the king monies placed with them by private persons who received interest at the legal rate of 6 per cent. In 1671, however, the king arbitrarily suspended payments to the bankers, who in turn suspended payment to their clients. This state of affairs was prolonged by the king until 1675 when the goldsmiths' creditors brought their grievance before parliament, and this extracted an undertaking from the king to assign 'the hereditary excise' for the payment and satisfaction of the bankers' debt.[95] Martha probably recovered her portion, but her grandfather evidently died before this came about.

(2) John, born 14 March 1635. *See below.*

(3) Thomas, matriculated in 1656-7, age not given.[96] In his will of 1679[97] Thomas Tyrell of Heron, Essex, Esq., appeared to have neither children nor wife, and he was evidently still unmarried in 1676 judging by the phrase 'desiring that he should marry . . .' in his father's will.[94] He left to his 'nephew Sir Charles Tyrrell Bart.' and his heirs the Manor of Crowes Heath Farm in Downham and in default to 'my brother', Sir Benjamin Ayloffe. To his 'kinsman' John Tyrrell he left a life interest, with reversion to Charles, in several farms and lands in the parishes of Downham, Ramsden Bellhouse, Runwell and South Hanningfield, Essex, and made bequests to his three neices, Anne, Margaret and Martha, the daughters of Sir Benjamin Ayloffe. Thomas received these various lands under his father's will in 1676.[94] Who was his kinsman John? Brother John, Bart, mentioned in the will of Charles in 1670 (v.i.) had died in 1673 and been succeeded as second

baronet by his son, Charles, who was apparently his only surviving child. Charles, who died in 1670, left no children, and Lawrence, who had died in 1652, did not have a son. The most probable candidate, then, would be a cousin, John of Billericay, son of Thomas of Buttsbury, his father's brother. This would be the 'nephew John Tyrell' referred to in the will of Sir John in 1676, and who also witnessed this document.[94]

(4) Charles Tyrrell of Staple Inn, London, Gent., in his will of 1670 referred to his father and mother, Sir John and Dame Martha, his wife; his brother, John Tyrrell, Bart.; his brother and sister, Ayloffe, and his brother, Thomas Tyrrell.[98] Brother Thomas was bequeathed a copyhold messuage called Thornehams in the parish of Great Braxted, Essex, and a freehold messuage called by the name of the *George* in Harlow, Essex (i.e., an inn). All the others were each left a ring of remembrance—'all rings to be worth at least 20/-'—and in addition Charles was given a bay mare and colt. He evidently had no children of his own, and does not mention a wife, so could have been a bachelor.

(5) Martha, the wife of Sir Benjamin Ayloffe of Great Braxted, Bart.

Sir John is said to be a B.A. of Wadham College, Oxford (M). In *Alumni Oxonienses* there is only one John Tyrrell listed in the 17th century, and he matriculated in 1617 at the age of 16, and had B.A. in 1620. There is thus a considerable discrepancy between this and his tombstone, as the latter would infer that he was born *c.* 1593 while the former produces a date of *c.* 1601.

Knighted in January 1627-8 by Charles I (M), John was a staunch royalist, for which he suffered, as recorded on his tombstone (v.i.). He was a Commissioner of Peace 1628 to 1641, and probably it was this man who was recorded as a managing governor of Chelmsford Grammar School in 1633 and again in 1646, when he was said to be living in Hampshire (? at Avon Manor).[99] As a supporter of Charles he was forced to compound for £600, but he was restored in 1661, and elected one of the Burgesses in parliament for Maldon (M). In 1665 a number of Essex gentry were arrested in connection with the abortive 'Salisbury insurrection', including Sir John Tyrrell of 'Sternegate' (i.e., Heron Gate).[100]

Sir John and his second wife were both interred in the church at East Horndon, the first recorded family burials there since John in 1540. On the floor of the south chapel is a ledger stone incised with the Tyrrell arms and a curious inscription which is laid out in two columns, Latin on the left with a Greek heading, and English on the right with a Latin heading. This appears to have been composed by himself, judging from the EP AUTOV (Greek) and In se ipsum (Latin) headings which mean 'on himself).

EP AUTOV		In se ipsum
Semel decimatus		Once decimated
Bis incarceratus		Twice imprisoned
Ter sequestratus		Thrice sequestered
Tacet quoties spoliatus		He holds his peace
Hic jacet In humatus		As oft as plundered
Johannes Tyrell	Obiit die Martii Anno	Here he lyeth buried
Eques Auratus	Domini 1675 aetatis 82	John Tyrell Knight

A wall monument in this chapel records that his wife, Martha, died in December 1679. This also records John's death, but gives 5 April 1676, the explanation for which apparent disparity is considered under the description of the church.

The arms on the ledger slab bear the badge of a baronet, stated to be incorrect by all writers on the subject, suggesting that they were placed there in error by his grandson Charles, second baronet, who erected the monument, as John, the father of Charles, had predeceased his own father in 1673. Morant's assertion that John, the son, was created first baronet has been followed ever since, and as he is clearly incorrect in many other respects it is not impossible for him to be wrong in this. The matter therefore warrants some discussion. The badge on old Sir John's slab would make perfect sense if *he* were the John Tirrell created baronet, and furthermore this would explain why the younger John was not described as baronet on his monument in Springfield church. On the other hand, John the son was 'Esq.' in 1644 when his second wife died, but 'Sir' John by 1673. In the absence of any reference to his being dubbed knight it would appear that the 'John Tirrell of Springfield Esq.' created baronet 22 October 1668[101] must be he. If the elder John was acquiring the baronetcy he should be entered as 'Sir John Tirrell Kt.'. This being so, the alternative theory would require the compounding of two errors rather than one: (1) confusion by Gullim between the two Johns, which is quite conceivable as he was writing after the death of both of them, and finding Charles of Heron to be the second baronet of Springfield might well assume that his father had been first; (2) an incorrect title of 'Sir' being given to John of Springfield on his funerary monument . . . The evidence, then, is consistent with the traditional view that old John's arms were incorrectly displayed by his grandson, and one can only wonder how he would have declaimed in Latin on that score.

John of Springfield, second son of Sir John, and heir to Heron after the death of Lawrence in 1652 (T). He was born 14 March 1635 (M), had three wives, but no heirs, and predeceased his father.

1. At Markyate, Bedfordshire by civil ceremony: 'John Tyrell, of East Horndon, son and heaire apparant of Sir John Tyrell Kt. was marrid to Lettice Coppin, daughter of Thomas Coppin, in Master Coppin's house at Markeat, Sept. 4th. by Justis Norton of the Parish of Offlee, in the year of our Lord 1655'.[102] John and Lettice probably came to stay with her parents for the birth of their first child, as a son, Thomas, was baptised there on 25 February 1658/9, but he died shortly afterwards and was buried on 1 March 1658/9.[102] Sir Charles, who was 54 at his death in February 1714, must have been born to John and Lettice in 1659 or early 1660, and it is possible that Lettice died as a result of his birth as her death is recorded as 8 March 1660 on a commemorative wall tablet in marble in All Saints' church, Springfield, where she was buried.

2. A second mural tablet at Springfield records the burial there of 'Anna Yeend, daughter of Richard Yeend of London, Merchant, wife of John Tyrell Esq. sonne and Heire of Sir John Tyrell of Heron in Essex Kt. She departed this life the 24th day of April 1664'.

John's second marriage was, therefore, also very short-lived, and by this wife he left no children.

3. He is said to have married again, to Elisabeth, daughter of John Allen, Alderman of London (again with no progeny), who re-married after his decease to Sir Thomas Stamp Kt. (M), but evidence to confirm this is lacking.

John died in 1673 and like his first two wives is commemorated by a tablet in Springfield church: 'Sacred to the Memory of The Honourable Colonell Sir John Tirell Deputy Lieutenant of this County Lord of this soyle, and heir of Herne. Obiit Martii 30 A.D. 1673 Aetat. 36'. It would appear that John held the rank of colonel, possibly in the militia, or maybe he had bought a commission. He was too young to have participated in the Civil War. This memorial makes no reference to his wife which is somewhat unusual if he left a widow, and stranger still it does not refer to him as Bart., if he was indeed the one who acquired this honorific. John Tyrell, Bart., died in the lifetime of his father, and his only son, Charles, the second baronet of Springfield, inherited the Heron estates on the decease of his grandfather in 1676.

1676–1714. *Sir Charles Tyrell,* second baronet of Springfield, was admitted Trinity College, Cambridge, 6 February 1676-7,[83] but there is no mention of him having matriculated. He probably left Cambridge when his grandfather died, only a month later, and moved to Heron Hall to take up his responsibilities as head of the family. He married Martha, the daughter of the Hon. Charles Mildmay of Woodham Mortimer Esq. and his wife Anne. Martha died 27 March 1690 and was buried at East Horndon. By her Sir Charles had three children, as indicated on her memorial: Anne, John and Charles.

(1) Anne, married 'Colonel Windham of Suffolk' (M); but 'William Wyndham of Earsham, co. Norfolk' (Host of Parish of Wraysbury. G. W. J. Gyll, 1862). She died 1762,

(2) John, the next heir. Morant states, erroneously, that he was their only son.

(3) Charles, it is assumed died young, though 'Charles Tyrel Esq'. noted at a meeting of old scholars at Felsted School in 1708[103] must almost certainly be this man. He was presumably younger than John, so at that date would be a maximum of 23 years old.

The Archdeaconry Inquisition of Essex in 1685, reporting on the state of the church at Downham, notes that 'Sir Charles Tyrell is Patron and Lord of the Manor.[104] He died at the age of 54 in 1714 and was buried at East Horndon.

1714–1729. *Sir John Tyrell,* third baronet of Springfield. It is said that at the time of the Jacobite rebellion in 1715 certain persons were arrested under Suspicion of Treason and confined in the *Black Boy* inn at Chelmsford. Among those listed as sending presents to them is 'Sir John Tyrrell Bart:—A side of Mutton, A goose, A Turkey, A Hare'. (T).

Sir John married Mary, the daughter of Sir James Dolliffe, Kt., by whom he is said to have had four daughters (M).

Mary, married to John Comyns.
Martha, married 1737 to Sir Thomas Drury.
Elisabeth and Anne (M).

Mary Dolliffe died in 1719, aged 24, and was buried at East Horndon, and John subsequently married Elisabeth, the daughter of John Cotton of the Inner Temple and East Barnet, who died in 1757, aged 53, and was also buried at East Horndon. Her memorial in the church records that by her John had two sons, Sir Charles, the fourth baronet, and Sir John, the fifth baronet. Morant gives 'another son who died young', said to have been a John, born in 1722, who died in infancy.[105]

Sir John died on 21 June 1729, aged 45. Buried East Horndon. (Plate 9.)

1729–1735. *Sir Charles Tyrell,* fourth baronet of Springfield, succeeded at the age of five, but did not survive to adult age. He died at Felsted School, July 1735, in his eleventh year,[106] and was succeeded by his brother, John.

1735–1766. *Sir John Tyrell,* fifth baronet of Springfield. He married—in 1762 (M)—Mary, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Crispe of Parbold, Lancashire. They both died in 1766, he aged 40, and she 31, and were buried at East Horndon (Plate 11). Morant says: 'His affectionate and disconsolate widow, overcome with immoderate grief at the loss of so kind a husband, quite sunk under it and followed him:

> He first deceased, she for a few hours try'd
> To live without him, lik'd it not and dy'd.

They left two daughters, Mary and Elisabeth, aged two or three years old at their decease, and no male heir, so the baronetcy became extinct. The little girls were presumably brought up by some relative, but we know nothing of this. Elisabeth, the younger daughter, born 1764, died unmarried in 1817, aged 53, and was interred at East Horndon 'in a new vault constructed in the Tyrrell chapel in which her remains and those of her parents who died in 1766 were deposited'.[107]

Mary Tyrell, the elder daughter, was born in London 'ye 9th day of October 1763' and was baptised 'ye 13th day of November, in ye Parish of St. Mary-le-Bow, in ye county of Middlesex'.[108] On 29 December 1787 she married Arthur Saunders, Viscount Sudley of Gore, who succeeded to the earldom of Arran upon the death of his father in 1809. 'Her life is said to have been dedicated to acts of unobtrusive piety, philanthropy and benevolence. The family of old Mr. Pearson, the steward of the Tyrell property, became her special charge—Arthur and John, the two eldest sons, after going through the usual university careers, were presented to the family livings of Springfield and Little Warley, and East Horndon. The Rev. John Pearson, the second son, was rector of East Horndon for 42 years'.[107]

Mary Tyrell, Lady Arran, died childless at Arran Lodge, Bognor, on 31 August 1832, and is buried beneath a large altar tomb in Felpham churchyard. Within the church, on the north wall of the chancel, is a white marble tablet, surmounted by an urn, with crest and arms beneath, erected to her memory, and on the opposite wall a similar one to her husband:

Sacred
to the memory of
Mary, Countess of Arran
who died August 31st. 1832 in her 68th year
and
was interred in the Burial Ground of this church.
She was the last representative
of the Illustrious family of Tyrell
of Heron Hall
in the County of Essex

Sacred
to the memory of
Arthur Saunders
third Earl of Arran
who died at Arran Lodge
Bognor
the 22nd January 1837
in the 76th year
of his age

Boreham House. Built in 1728 by Benjamin Hoare, a Fleet Street banker, and one-time Lord Mayor of London. He had bought Nero Hall which was falling into ruin and plundered the old place of fine marbles and other spoils to adorn his new Palladian mansion. The house passed in the later 18th century to the Tyrells and Sir John Tyrell, the first baronet, gave Boreham House its present shape by adding the charming wings and adorning the facade with 'a light and elegant balustrade', and graceful portico. The lovely building in light stone and brick was approached by a double avenue of elm trees on either side of a long lake. The inside of the mansion was equally magnificent. The Grecian Doric hall richly panelled, the drawing room hung with crimson watered cloth, the dining-room had a noble marble chimney-piece and the saloon was described as one of the richest and perhaps most perfect rooms in the Italian style in the kingdom. From behind the house the great windows look out over ornamental gardens to Danbury Hill.

Now Boreham House has become the Henry Ford Institute of Agricultural Engineering. The elm trees became unsafe and had to be cut down. The big lake is starved of water by the agricultural needs of the surrounding land. Much of the glory has departed, but the house still remains as lovely as it was in the 18th century.[109]

* * * * *

Tyrells of Warley and Ashton

Humphrey of Warley Hall, the third son of Thomas Tyrell of Heron and his wife, Anne Marney, is said to have had two wives:

1. Isabella, the daughter of John Helion and his wife Editha (the daughter of Thomas Rolfe and wife Anne—probably a grand-daughter of Sir John Hawkwood [M]). Their children are given as (T): Anne, the wife of Sir Roger Wentworth of Codham Hall, Wethersfield, Essex. (N.B.—Vis. Suffolk 1561 says she was daughter of Sir John of Gipping.) Elisabeth, the wife successively of William Allington, William Cheyne and Ralph Chamberlayn. Margaret, the wife of William Waldegrave, Kt. Margery, the wife of . . . Ashfield, and then of Edward Wingfield. Mary, the wife of Thomas Timperley.

2. Elisabeth, daughter of Sir John Walwyn of Lounsford, Hertfordshire. Visitations of Sussex state that Margaret, daughter of John Walwyn of Longford, Herefordshire, married . . . Tyrell, probably about the turn of the century, and Vis. Gloucestershire 1623 says that Margaret, the daugher of John Walwyn of Brecknock married . . . Tyrell.

This might suggest that Humprey's second wife was more likely to be Margaret, if she was a Walwyn, but her will, in which she asks to be buried 'by the Body of my late husband Humphrey Tyrell' calls her Elisabeth Tyrell.[110]

Morant states that by this wife Humphrey had six sons, and lists three of them:

Sir John of Warley, the heir, Robert the youngest son, and Humphrey of Shenfield, who married Alice, the daughter of Thomas Glenham and had issue Thomas, Richard, Henry and Robert. (Note.—Vis. Berkshire . . . 'John the son and heir of Thomas Eyton of East Hendred, Berks. married Maud the daughter of Humphrey Tyrell of Warley'. Also, Vis. Cambridgeshire 1575, states that Thomas Pigott of Abbington, Cambridgeshire, married Beatrice, the daughter of . . . Tirrell of Warley.)

Humphrey is listed as Sheriff of Hertfordshire in November 1502,[111] and died on 2 June 1507.[112] He was buried, according to the will of his son, John, in 'Esthorndon Church'. (*See* section on All Saints' church.)

1507-1541. *Sir John Tyrell of Little Warley,* the son and heir of Humphrey, aged 24 in 1507,[110] died 28 February 1540/1. There seems to be no notice of when or where he was knighted, but his will refers to him as Sir John, Kt., and that of his widow to Dame Anne. He married Anne, the daughter of Sir Edward Norrys (V. Berkshire, which also refers to John as knight), and the widow of John Hopton, by whom she had a child, Elisabeth—'Elisabeth Hopton my wife's daughter' in Sir John's will. Their children as given by John's will were:

Sons: John, Stephen, Morris, Humphrey, Rauff, William.
Daughters: Friswith, Mary 'sometyme a nonne of Barking' to whom John bequeathed 'a ring with a safier' (Barking Abbey was dissolved 1539), and 'Margaret Tyrell'—presumably signifying that she was then unmarried.

The will also appears to mention two sons-in-law, William Wortington and Anthony Brigge; Friswith is the only daughter who could be wife of one of them, which suggests there was another daughter, possibly already deceased. Morant's list of Sir John's children does not include all those given in the will, and furthermore he produces another daughter, Gertrude, the wife of Sir William Petre. Gertrude Petre was buried at Ingatestone, 1541, and the 1552 Visitation certainly describes her as 'daughter to Sir John Tirill of Warley Kt.', so it seems somewhat strange that Sir John makes no mention of her in his will.

John died in February 1540/1, and requested his 'body to be buryed in the chauncell of litle Warley aforesaid before alhalowes wt. a stone over me in lyke wyse as my father humfrey Tyrell lyeth in Esthorndon Church'. He further expressed a wish to be buried 'w'out pomp, wayne glorie, or grete coste'.[113]

Dame Anne Tirrell 'of London' died in 1562, and requested 'to be buried where it shall please God'. She bequesthed 'to Morris Tirrell, my son, all my plate—that is to saye xii silver spoones with postells [i.e., apostles], 4 feather beds with bed linen, chests and all the brass and pewter now beinge in the said house where I doe now remaine' . . . To 'my daughter Elizabeth Perryn, a flat piece of a unicornes horn'.[114] (Note.—Unicorn's horn was used 'medicinally' for many centuries: the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* (1707, seventh edition), describes its uses: 'Alexipharmick, Sudorifick, Cardiack, Antifebritick, and Cephalick; it potently resists Plague,

Pestilence, and Poison, expels the Measles and Small Pox, and cures the Falling-sickness in Children'). Elisabeth Perryn was evidently née Hopton, and had married . . . Perryn between 1541 and 1552 when her mother's will was dated.

John Tyrell, Esq., their son, aged 26 in 1540,[115] married Anne, the daughter of Ambrose Wooley of London, by whom it is said he had one daughter, Mary, wife of Thomas Clinton, second son of Edward, Earl of Lincoln (M)—*but see under* Humphrey of Shenfield.

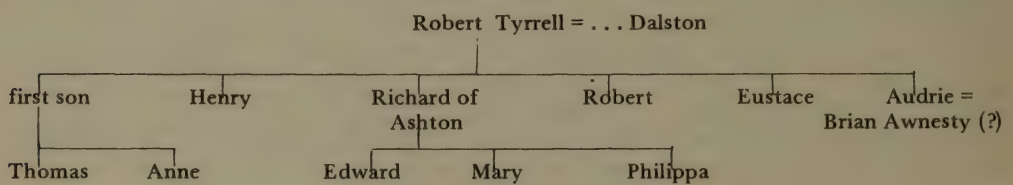
'Tyrrell, John, Member of the University and servant to the Dukes of Suffolk, 1551; wrote verses to their memory. Perhaps of Warley, Essex, in 1571'.[83]

In Little Warley church is a brass, originally in the floor, but now placed upon the wall, of a female figure with inscription which reads: 'Here lyeth the body of Anne daughter of Ambros Wolley, Esquier wife of John Terrell, Esquier, late wife of Davye Hanmer Gent., who deceased the xii day of April 1592 beynge of the age of 62 yeares'. John himself died 2 March 1585.[116]

Humphrey Tyrrell of Shenfield, second son of Humphrey of Warley, married Alice, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Glenham, by whom he had four sons: Thomas, Richard, Henry and Robert. This Robert, of Barking, married Ann Bolney and had a son, Robert of Warwics, Essex (M). It would seem that Mary, the wife of Thomas Clinton, who is given as daughter of John (*v.s.*), might have been the daughter of this Humphrey, on the basis of the arms mentioned in the Visitation of Essex, 1612. This lists a shield of: Clinton impaling quarterly of twelve: 1 and 7 Tyrell, a mullet for difference; 2 and 8 Borgate; 3 and 9 Swynford; 4 and 10 Flambert; 5 and 11 Coggeshall; 6 Wolley; 12 Glenham, a mullet for difference. As this coat contains, in the last quartering, the arms of Glenham, it must have belonged to a descendant of Humphrey and Alice, and so could not be the arms of a daughter of John.

Robert Tyrrell, the sixth son of Humphrey of Warley. Morant states that he married . . . Dalston by whom he had five sons. Richard, the third son, resided at Ashdon Place, Essex, and by his wife, Grace, he had Edward, Phillip and Mary, married to . . . Wiseman. The will of 'Richard Tirell of Ashton Esq. and Warden of the fleete' in 1566 shows him as possessing a 'manor called the Fleete in the parish of St. Brides, London', in the tenure or occupation of his brother, Henry. He refers to his son Edward and 'daughters Mary and Phillippa', also brothers Robert and Eustace; Thomas and Anne, the children of his eldest brother, probably deceased, and brother-in-law, Brian Awnesty (?) and wife, Awdrie (his sister), but does not mention his own wife.[117] This tallies with Morant's five sons of Robert, though the name of the eldest does not appear, but Richard's son, Phillip, was a daughter.

Pedigree derived from this will:



Note.—Richard also made bequests to (1) 'Charles Tyrrell that married the Countess of Oxford', and (2) 'Charles Tyrrell body servant to the Lady Rich', which indicates that these were both fairly closely related to him.

1. According to Burke[118] John de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford, who died in 1562, married firstly Lady Dorothy Nevill, and secondly, Margery, the daughter of John Golding of Halstead, Essex, who married, secondly 'Christopher' Tyrrell. This must certainly be a mistake for Charles. Margery died in 1568 (B), and two years later occurs the will of 'Charles Tirrell Esq, and one of the quenes majesties gentlemen pensioners'[119] in which he makes bequests to 'lady Mary sister of the Earl of Oxford' and 'to the Earl of Oxford 1 great house (or horse) that his lordship gave me'. This is surely the same man as mentioned in the will of Richard of Ashdon, but unfortunately his Tyrrell connections do not become much clearer. He refers to his 'sister Churche', his brother and sister Garvin (?), and his 'sister Felton'.

2. It would seem that the Robert of Warwics given by Morant as grandson of Humphrey of Warley could not possibly be old enough by 1541 to have been the Robert of Warwics he records under Birdbrook as buying the Manor there in that year. Probably Morant is incorrect in describing Robert, Humphrey's grandson, as of Warwics, and the 'Robert of Warwics' of 1541 would appear to belong to a different family. (*See under* Wyvehnoe.) It was possibly this other Robert who in that same year was involved with Sir Richard Rich in a land deal in Little Laver.[120] This suggests a connection albeit tenuous, between the Wyvenhoe/Birdbrook Tyrrells and the family of Rich and may point to the branch from which came Charles the 'body servant to Lady Rich'.

Eustace Tyrrell. A Eustace described as 'of Norfolk, Gent' who died in 1599[121] seems to have been fairly intimately connected with the great family of Howard, Dukes of Norfolk, as his will records bequests of £100 to the '2nd son of my lord Howard' and £100 to the 'daughter of my lady of Arundell'. He mentions his wife, Anne, a nephew, Richard Tyrrell, and three nieces, the daughters of his sister. On this evidence alone it is not possible definitely to place him as the brother of Richard of Ashdon, but the data does not exclude this.

Richard Tyrrell is buried in the church at Ashdon, where stands a stone altar tomb, and above it on the wall there is an achievement of arms. The marble top of the tomb shows the impression of where once was a brass plate, probably bearing his name and date of death. The stonework of the tomb is carved to produce three framed panels on the long, south, side, and a similar one on the west end, while the north and east faces are adjacent to the angle of the wall. Upon the west panel, and the first and third panels on the south side are the arms: Quarterly: (1) two chevrons, a border engrailed (Tyrrell); (2) paly of six (Borgate); (3) on a chevron engrailed three dolphins hauriant (Flambard); (4) a cross between four cockle-shells (Coggeshall). In the fess point a mullet for difference.

The centre panel on the south side bears: Quarterly 1, 2, 3, 4 (as above) impaling a fleur-de-lis between two woolpacks in pale enclosed by as many flaunches each charged with a wolf passant (WOOLLEY). This proves that Richard's wife was a Woolley. The panel over the tomb displays: Quarterly: (1) Tyrell; (2) coggeshall; (3) Borgate; (4) Flambard; with the Tyrrell crest—out of a boar's head erect a panache

of peacock's feathers. Cut into the lower framing of this panel is the inscription: RIC TYRRELL ARMIGER / 1566.

Richard's son, Edward, was Warden of the Fleet (M) and married Elisabeth, the daughter of Sir Valentine Brown (V). Edward and Elisabeth had three children: Robert, Henry and Elisabeth.

Robert, the eldest son, matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1595, aged 13; was admitted Fellow commoner Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1598-9. Admitted Gray's Inn, March 1602-3, was knighted 14 April 1607.[83] He also was Warden of the Fleet, and married Susanna, the daughter of Robert Millicent, Esq., by Dorothy, the daughter of John Maynard of St. Albans, Esq., progenitor of the Lord Maynard. 'Robert Tyrrell removed to Bartlow and sold this estate to William Lord Maynard' (M); it is not clear from this statement whether the estate he sold to Lord Maynard was the Manor of Waltons, under which heading this occurs, Ashdon Place, the Manor of Fleet, or all of them, but probably it was just the first to judge from other information: Sir Henry Lello of Ashdon in his will of 1629 referred to 'all that my Manor or capital messuage called the Fleet, otherwise "the King's Goale of the Fleete" situate in the parish of St. Bride's, London, with the office of Warden of the Fleet etc. . . . and also the keeping of the Palace of Westminster, called the old and new Palace, with the benefits and rents of the shops and stalls in Westminster Hall and without etc., in as large and ample manner as I and Mr. Eldred, had and purchased the same from Sir Robert Tirrell kt.'[122]

The *Robert Tyrrell of Newmarket*, Suffolk, who died in 1648, aged about 63[123] might be this man, as his property consisted of houses at Newmarket, with a windmill at Ashdon. He left a son, Theophilus, and a daughter, Jane Turner, and his will expressed a disappointed life from the financial aspect: 'my estate is small—all my life tyme exceedingly turmoyld in great suite of . . . (? COURT). And now at last some fewe yeares since having lost an estate between 3 and 4,000 pounds in Ireland this last Great Rebellion there . . .'. This man is not described as Knight, which suggests that it is someone else altogether, but the coincidence of the name and the mill at Ashdon is very strange, highlighting the difficulties encountered in attempting to recreate family groupings.

* * * * *

The Tyrells of Wyvenhoe and Birdbrook

Sir Robert Tyrell, Kt., son of Sir Thomas of Heron and Anne Marney, is stated to be of Horndon on the Hill (M), but it would seem more likely that he was of Wyvenhoe as the parson and parish priest of the church there were listed as witnesses to his will. Dated 30 December 1507,[124] this ordained that he be buried 'wt. in the churche of the Grey friers of Colchester, by Dame Christian my wife. . . . I will that myn executors shall make an arche of freestone in the wall w^{t}. in our ladys chapell ther as I and my last wif shall lye. And also I will have a stone of marbill to be laid on me and my wif in the said place ov' o^{r} grave, and a Remembrance of my name and hers in the m'ball stone'.

Christina's I.P.M.[125] showed that she died in June 1506, so it would seem that Sir Robert did not remain widowed very long, as he mentions a second wife, Elisabeth, in his will. It is said that Christian (or Christina), his first wife, was the daughter of John Harlston, and that his second wife, Elisabeth, subsequently married Edward Mackwell.[124] This, however, does not easily accord with Christina's I.P.M., which describes her as 'Christina Makwillian, formerly wife of Robert Tyrell Kt.'. This might almost sound as if she had married a Makwillian as a second husband, but there is no doubt that she predeceased Sir Robert, so this must have been her former name. Perhaps she was born Harlston and married a Makwillian as a first husband, but this does not seem a very probable supposition, as to have been a daughter of John Harlston she would then be grand-daughter of Alice Bruin, whose sister, Elisabeth, married Thomas Tyrell of South Ockendon, the brother of Robert, her husband. The likelihood, therefore, is that her maiden name was Mackwell or Makwillian, and the suggestion that Elisabeth afterwards married Edward Mackwell is quite plausible; as a young widow she might well have re-married one of her husband's in-laws by his first marriage.

Sir Robert died 1 July 1508[126] leaving all his lands to his second son, Robert, with remainder to his daughter Margery (Bryce). His elder son, Thomas, said to be 30 years or more, had evidently chosen to enter the church, as he was left an annuity of 10 marks 'to hys exhibucion at Cambrigge or Oxenford or in any other place where it shall please hym until the tyme he shalbe preferryd to a benefice of 30L by yere'. His wife, Elisabeth, was to have her apparel and plate that was hers 'at our meeting and myn, and to deliver to my executors all my plate, jewels, bedding and other stuff . . . to pay my debts, and all moveable goods that she and I have, to be disposed for the health of my soul, except for raiment'.

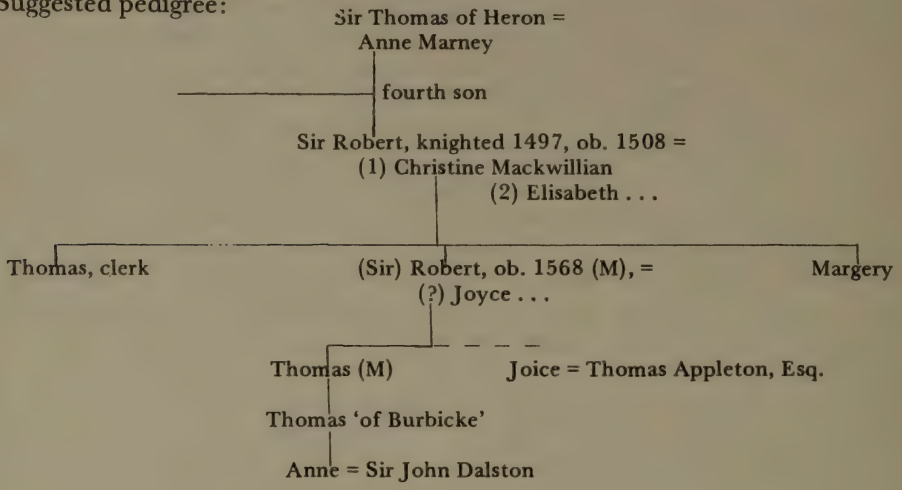
A Robert Tyrrell was knighted on the field of Blackheath in 1497,[127] when the Cornishmen marched on London as a protest against taxation; presumably this Robert.

Son Robert. A Robert Tyrrell of Lynton, Devon, and his wife, Joyce, had licence in May 1541 to alienate the Manors of Enfield and Glanvilles in Little Laver, Essex, to Sir Richard Rich,[120] and Robert of Warwicks, Essex, bought the Manor of Birdbrook from King Henry VIII in June 1541.[128] The parentage of this man as given by Morant is nonsense; 'he was the second son of Sir John Tyrell of Horndon on the Hill (who was fourth son of Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron) and Alice daughter and coheir of Sir William Coggeshall'. With or without the brackets this makes no sense, so it is not clear who this Robert was descended from.

Robert presented to the living of Birdbrook rectory in 1551, appointing Thomas Tyrrell, which certainly looks like a brotherly arrangement. According to Morant, this manor 'descended to his grandson (son of Thomas) Thomas', whose heir was Anne, wife of Sir John Dalston of Dalston in Cumberland. The 1615 Visitation of Cumberland, however, gives John Dalston's wife as Catherine 'the daughter and sole heir of Thomas Tyrell of Burbicke' (presumably Birdbrook). Under Corringham parish, Morant records that Sir Robert Tyrrell at his death, 1 July 1568, held the Manor of Coggars, of which Sir Thomas of Heron had died seised in 1476, and he notes that the Manor of South Benfleet—land inherited by the Tyrrells from the Coggeshalls—was brought in marriage to Thomas Appleton, Esq. by 'Joice, daughter of Sir Robert

Tyrell' though the reference is undated. The name Joice suggests that Sir Robert was probably the same man who was described as of Lynton of 1541 and whose wife was Joyce.

Suggested pedigree:



Anthony Tyrell, Renegade Priest

Anthony, a son of George, the sixth son of Thomas of Heron, was born in 1552, graduated B.A. at some Continental university, and, being unable to pursue his studies for want of money, came over to England to beg from his relations. He was seized and imprisoned as a recusant, but was released after some months, apparently through the favour of Lord Burghley, and retired abroad. He attended the newly-founded College at Rome and took the college oath in 1579 at the age of twenty-seven. Two years later, as an ordained priest he was sent to England, where he was captured in 1581, and thrown into the Gatehouse. He broke prison and was at large in January 1582. In that year Anne Lady Paget, widow, of West Drayton, Middlesex, was suspected of harbouring him on his escape from prison.[129] He re-visited Rome in 1584, then returned to England in 1585, and became mixed up with the strange practices of Father Weston, S.J., and others in casting out devils. He was arrested again in 1586 and lodged in the Counter in Wood Street. Other arrests alarmed him and so he made secret disclosures regarding the Babington Conspirators, Mary Stuart, the Pope and some of his clerical brethren, in order to gain the favour of the government, and soon he claimed to be a convert to Protestantism. He was moved to the Clink goal to act as a spy and informer among Catholic prisoners there, and shortly afterwards was granted liberty abroad for the same purpose.

When it became known to the Catholics that Tyrell was acting as an agent provocateur it was decided that he could be given a licence to preach by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but conscience or fear drove him to flee north to Leith where he took ship for the Continent, leaving a letter to the Queen retracting all his former accusations against his brethren and renouncing his Protestantism. However, after a few months he returned to England and his former masters who insisted on his making, at St. Paul's Cross, a public recantation of his original statements, but on

mounting the pulpit on the appointed day—Sunday, 31 January 1588—he unexpectedly spoke in the opposite sense. He was violently interrupted, rescued with difficulty from the angry mob, and put in close confinement at Newgate Counter. For about six months he maintained his Catholicism, then reverted to Protestantism and professed to Burghley his 'true repentance'. On 8 December 1588 he delivered his sermon—printed with the title 'The recantation and abjuration of Anthony Tyrrell (some time priest of the English College in Rome but now by the great mercy of God converted and become a true professor of his word) pronounced by himself at St. Paul's Cross after the sermon made by Mr. Pownall, preacher, at London 1588'. Anthony Tyrrell now became an Anglican clergyman, took a wife, and held the Vicarage of Southminster (1591–97. Newcourt Rep.) and the parsonage of Denge (1589–1616. Newcourt). In 1595 he was again imprisoned for keeping disreputable company, but was released after a few months. In 1602 he wrote his confessions regarding the exorcisms of 1585. In his old age he was apparently persuaded by his brother to retire into Belgium where he died reconciled to the Roman Church. The exact date is not known, but probably about 1610.[130]

* * * * *

Tyrells of Beeches

William, junior, the fifth son of Sir John Tyrell and Alice Coggeshall, born probably about 1410, was presumably the 'William Tyrell of the Beche', knighted at 'the batell of Northampton' in 1460.[131] His will,[132] written 'wt. myn owne hande' was dated 16 March 49 Henry VI 'and the newe taking upon him of his Royall power the ffirst yeare', i.e., 1471, and no doubt a cause of rejoicing for Sir William, a Lancastrian supporter, when Warwick 'the King maker' had, though only temporarily, ousted the Yorkist King Edward IV and re-established the Lancastrian Henry VI on the throne.

To judge by the concluding paragraph it looks almost as if this paper was a draft for his will drawn up by Sir William himself; the spelling is somewhat unorthodox, but the meaning is quite clear:

> I sette this paup' my sygne manuell tyll y^{t} may be written on p'chemyn, and furthermore, though this writtying be not so lawful made as it ought to be, yet myn intent what I meane may be clearly understood. W'tten w^{t} myn owne hande, and sealed w^{t} my seale of myn Armes ...

Sir William, in his will, mentions his father, John, and his wives, Alice and Katherine, and his own 'wiffes', Anne, the daughter of William Fitz-Simon, and Dame Philippa, the daughter of John Thornbury. He desired to establish, at Hawkes tenement, a school with a house for a priest to dwell in to teach grammar, charging it on the Manor of Plumberow, but there is no evidence to suggest that his request was implemented.

Recorded as Escheator of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1459,[133] Sir William probably died before 1476, as in that year his son, John, who succeeded him, was described as 'of Beeches' when named executor in the will of his uncle, Sir Thomas of Heron.[70] The Manor of North Benfleet, brought in marriage by Alice Coggeshall to John Tyrrell, evidently descended to Sir William who presented to the living in 1443 and 1466.[134]

He died *c.* 1475 and was buried in the church of the Austin Friars in the City of London,[135] and was succeeded by his son, John.

*c.*1475-1494. *John Tyrell, Esq.*

In his will,[136] proved 23 November 1494, he made bequests to the churches of Rawreth, Pakelsham, Canewdon and Raylegh, and instructed 'my body to be buried in the Church of St. Nicholas in Rawreth in Essex, where I am a parishen, or els wherein the parish church where I die'. The properties mentioned were: the manors of North Benfleet, Portlonding marsh in Canvey, the advowson of North Benfleet, Bawnes in Southchurch, tenements in Much Wakering, lands and tenements in Rawreth, Hockley, Raley, Thundersley and Southchurch.

To the parson of the church of Rawreth, named elsewhere in the will as Sir William Howard, John left 'my blewe vestment of damaske or saten with other apparell, and a cope to be bought by mine executors'. This is similar to the bequest by Sir Thomas of Heron, ob. 1476, and probably refers to the vestments of the domestic chaplain in the livery colours of the Tyrells. He also left 40 shillings to the church of North Benfleet, with which to buy 'a booke or coope, or what they nedeth moost to goddes worshipp'.

Edward Tyrell, his son and heir, received £20 worth of plate and £20 worth of household goods, which would amount to quite a considerable amount, and William, the younger son, was left some plate and cattle, while Anne, his daughter, who was a nun had 'a goblet of silver with a covering'.

John was the eldest son of Sir William by his first wife, Anne, the daughter of William Fitz-Simon. He had at least one brother, Jasper, and a sister married to Thomas Huntyngdon. (His tomb at Hempstead, Essex, has a shield in brass of Huntyngdon impaling Tyrell. *See* Heraldry section.) John married Catherine Walden and their children, according to his will, were: Sons, Edward and William, and daughters, Margaret and Anne 'a nonne at the mynores w'out London'. His heir, Edward, was aged 18 in 1494.[137]

1494-1541. *Edward Tyrell*

John's son and heir died in 1541,[138] evidently without male issue as his heir was his brother William.

1541-1543. *William Tyrell*

William, the younger brother of Edward, died two years after succeeding him, in 1543,[139] and the estates descended to:

1543-1576. *Edmund Tyrell*

Edmund was son of Jasper, the younger brother of John. Around 1570 Edmund bought the Manor of Barrington Hall, Ramsden, from Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley. He died in 1576 and a wall monument in Rawreth church shows the kneeling figures in brass of Edmund in armour, and his wife. Three shields of arms show (1) Tyrell; (2) Borgate; (3) Flambard; (4) Coggeshall; for TYRELL (a molet for

difference); COOKE; and Tyrell impaling Cooke. The monument was recorded in 1861 as being on a wall in the south aisle, and 'mutilated',[140] but it is now on the north wall of the chancel, and looks in no way mutilated. Perhaps the original position was in the south aisle and the brasses have been reset in a new stone when the old one became derelict. By his wife, Susan Cooke, Edmund had no male issue, and he divided his estates between his four daughters and their descendants,[141] viz.:

1. Edmund Church, Gent., son of daughter Mary.
2. Margaret, the wife of John Daniell (Vis. Suffolk, 1561). Monument at Acton.
3. Thomasine, the wife of William Playters (Vis. Suffolk, 1612). Brass with infant daughter in Sotterley church, Suffolk.[142] Note.—Vis. Suffolk, 1664 gives: Lionell Playters m. Elizabeth, the daughter of . . . Tyrell of Beche Esq.
4. Susan.

* * * * *

Heron Hall and All Saints' Church

Heron Hall

Heron Hall, in the Parish of East Horndon, was known in later years as the ancestral home of the Tyrells, and the site of their Manor House evidently came into the family's possession sometime in the 14th century as a consequence of the marriage of James Tyrell to Margaret Heron. It is uncertain when this actually became the family seat, but the evidence indicates that Thomas the younger had established himself there by 1363, in which year he received a royal licence to impark 400 acres of meadow, pasture and wood.

The actual house itself, either pre-existing or built by Sir Thomas, would undoubtedly by today's standards have been fairly small and unimpressive. The moated plateau upon which it stood probably contained the hall-house with sundry outbuildings, such as bake- and brew-houses, storage buildings, barns and stables—resembling more a farm, with its yard and outlying buildings, than a 'stately home', the product of a later age. The geological structure of Essex provides little or no stone, so the house and its auxiliary buildings were almost certainly of timber-frame construction, possibly with brick infilling.

As the family prospered, the house was altered and enlarged, reaching its final stage round about 1600. By that time it had expanded to approximately 125ft. square around a quadrangle about 74ft. square. The entrance, flanked by two turrets, was on the south side, approached by a bridge over the moat. This opened into the 'Marble Hall', out of which rose the main staircase, and having the dining and drawing rooms to left and right. The eastern side contained a vestibule and breakfast room, a parlour, library, and small parlour, and the western side the kitchens, scullery, etc.; on the north lay the Great Hall, old pantry, soller stairs, butler's pantry, and servants' hall—comprising, probably, the original house. There was a second or 'tradesman's' entrance at the north-west corner, approached by another bridge over the moat; and five staircases giving access to the upper floor (see Plate 5). The house occupied the south-west corner of the moated plateau, and at each of the

other corners was a circular tower 15ft. in diameter, presumably joined by a wall enclosing the gardens to north and east of the house.

Certain discrepancies are apparent between the descriptions and the map and plan of Heron Hall. Morant (1768) describes 'an old brick-built edifice, surrounded with a moat, on the outer side of which moat stand four towers detached from the rest of the building'. Chapman and André's map (1777), and a plan of the house in Essex Record Office (? date) certainly indicate that the towers (three not four) are detached from the building, but are not *outside* the moat.

'Remains of Heron Hall', an illustration from *Beauties of England and Wales* (Brayley and Britton, 1805), depicts the north-east and south-east towers which are clearly inside the moat, but includes in the background a building which surely should not be there, as the hall was demolished in 1778. This book refers to a terrace walk on the outside of the moat, but the map appears to show such a feature between the wall and the moat on the east side, with a bridge leading to gardens on the east and north of the moat. (Plates 4 and 6.)

Chancellor (*Ancient and Sepulchral Monuments of Essex,* 1890) states that the moated platform, with no trace of any building by then, was 'a level plateau about 250 feet square', but from the scale on the plan (which is presumably the one said to be 'in the possession of Mr. Chancellor' in 1894 (*An Account of East Horndon Church, by a Parishioner,* Brentwood, 1895) as it tallies in all other respects with his description) the platform measures about 170ft. west to east and 150ft. north to south. It is not possible to compute the size from Chapman and André's map as the houses are not drawn to the same scale, but if this moated site is depicted in any way accurately, then related to the size of the house it would be approaching 250ft. square. It may be, therefore, that Chancellor was giving a measurement of the site at first hand, but this does not explain the plan. Perhaps, then, the author of this plan foreshortened the north and east limits of the enclosure for convenience, but did not indicate this on his diagram.

This mansion, of brick and timber-frame construction, was unfortunately demolished in 1788 after the Tyrells of Heron became extinct, and the remnants put up for sale:

> Old Materials to be sold by Private Contract
>
> All the remaining Articles of Materials of the Mansion called Heron House, consisting of sashes and glass shutters, doors and linings, wainscotting, stairs and ballusters, timber framing, a marble chimney piece and slab, stone piers, between three and four hundred thousand bricks at 12s. per thousand. For particulars enquire of Thomas Walker on the premises, on Thursday in every week between the hours of nine and three o'clock.[143]

With the gradual expansion of the Manor House and its garden to fill the entire site, it clearly became necessary to transfer farming activities beyond the moat, and an old red brick building, preserved when the main house was destroyed, was probably part of the new farm buildings. Beyond the south-west corner of the moat, this rectangular building with 2ft.-thick brick walls, measuring 40ft. by 20ft. internally, was possibly built in the early part of the 16th century, with a roof supported by king-posts and curved braces four ways. Though of two storeys there was no internal staircase—access to the upper part being by ladder to a door placed above the entrance to the ground floor—and in addition there was no fireplace, so it must have been designed as a barn, and not for human habitation.[144]

There was probably an older house adjacent to this at the time of its building, where lived the tenant of the 'home farm'. Rebuilt in the 18th century this farmhouse had placed over the door the shield of arms of Sir John Tyrell, impaling those of his first wife, Mary Dolliffe.[144] This would date the rebuilding of the house to the five-year period between 1714, when John inherited on the decease of his father, Sir Charles, and 1719, in which year Mary his wife died.

An early 19th-century account relates that at Dunton, a mile or two south of East Horndon, 'we came to another large farmhouse; in one of the rooms we found an ancient wainscotting of oak with several shields of the arms of Tyrell, and the badge of the three bows; in the window, a shield lozengy, with the scallops of Coggeshale and another badge of that eminent family likewise. They were removed from Heron House'.[145]

The suggestion is clearly that these pieces had been acquired at the time of the demolition and sale of Heron Hall, and fitted into this farmhouse. The Coggeshall arms would not be out of place at Heron, but the 'shield lozengy', without the tinctures being specified, could apply to several families, none of which appear to have any connection with the Tyrells. The only lozengy arms which might appear appropriate are those of Rokele, but the connection with Heron Hall becomes a trifle thin as these were brought into a cadet branch by the marriage of Elizabeth Bruin to Thomas Tyrell of South Ockendon. (See later section.)

This reference to the 'badge of the three bows', which must be the same as the Tyrell knot of Gipping, is interesting as supplying the only recorded connection of this device with the Tyrells of Heron; apart from this, the several occurrences in the historic record are exclusive to the Gipping family (q.v.).

Further pieces of window glass were noted in 1860 in the east window of the chancel in Dunton church: 'the arms of Tyrell impaling Borgatt or Burgate, denoting the match of Sir Edward Tyrrell with Maud or Anne Borgate in the middle of the 14th century; a coat barry ermine and gules impaling de Coggeshall; another originally bendy of eight, impaling argent a cross gules quarter pierced azure. The whole I think must be referred to the time of Edward III. They may have been brought from Heron, or else belonged to a former window in the chancel'.[146]

Some of these arms are again difficult to interpret with any accuracy, but appear to relate to the Coggeshall family. 'The match of Sir Edward and Maud or Anne Borgate' is of course that given in the traditional pedigree heretofore accepted but not, as we have seen, historically identifiable. Although it seems rather improbable for arms to be found in window glass at the early house at Heron in the mid-14th century, it is possible that a coat recording a Tyrell/Borgate marriage could have featured there at that time. However, 'time of Edward III' (1327–1377) is not consistent with shields of the Coggeshall family, as John Tyrell, who married Alice Coggeshall and brought that family's arms to the Tyrells, was probably not born until the dying years of this reign. Accordingly, there can be little doubt that these arms date from a later period, and if indeed they came from Heron Hall a more likely dating would be about the end of the 15th century when Sir Thomas (d. 1476) instigated repairs and renovations to the church, and is thought to have done the like to Heron Hall.

* * * * *

All Saints' Church, East Horndon (Plate 8)

The Serpent

The pamphlet produced for this church records what is stated to be an old story connected with the Tyrells and 'a great serpent' which made its home in the churchyard. It states:

> A curious tradition, written down in 1695 by John Tyrell of Billericay in Essex, tells us that 'he had often heard his father, Thomas Tyrell of Buttsbury, say that it was related to him by his great-grandfather, old Sir Henry Tyrell of Heron in Essex; and that Sir Henry said he had it as a very truth from his ancestors, as follows: The merchants of Barbary having brought home a serpent in a ship, which lay upon the Thames, within twelve miles of Heron, which escaping out of the ship, lived and haunted about those woods, twixt Heron and Horndon Parish Church, devouring such passengers as came that way, which made the country seek redress from Sir James Tyrell, a great man in those parts. He armed himself, and hung a looking glass before his breast, and going to the aforesaid Churchyard the serpent came hovering at the glass, and playing at her own shadow, whereat Sir James taking his best advantage, struck the serpent and slew it, cut off his head, and carried it to his wife's bedside before she arose in the morning. But he so overheated himself with his combat, that he shortly after died, and his son coming that way where the serpent's bones lay, spurned one of them, saying, 'This is the bone of the serpent that was the death of my father'; but the bone piercing the summer shoe, so hurt his toe, which gangrened, and his leg was cut off at the knee. The picture of which Tyrell with one leg is now to be seen in the glass window at Heron, thereby causing the tradition to be often mentioned.

Unfortunately it is not now possible to verify whether or not there was a stained glass window at Heron depicting a one-legged Tyrell, so supporting evidence for such a strange story cannot be adduced. As the leading protagonist is named as Sir James it appears to place the incident in the early 14th century, some 250 years before 'old Sir Henry' was relating it to his great-grandson. It may be that this was some old family tale, obviously improved in the telling over the centuries, but to say that it was relayed to Thomas of Buttsbury by Sir Henry, his great-grandfather, is an impossibility, as Henry died in 1588, and Thomas was not born until some time after 1594; his elder brother, John, the heir of Heron, was born that year.

Serpents and dragons—the 'great worms' of Tolkien—are essentially a figment of the lurid imaginings of the Middle Ages, and the most famous dragon slayer, St. George, the patron saint of England, acquired this characteristic in late medieval times. Although he survived his encounter unscathed, not all serpent killers were so fortunate, as we have seen. A story somewhat intermediate between those of St. George and Sir James comes from Gothic Europe. In the church of Niederbeerbach is an effigy of a knight in armour with his feet on a dragon, commenorating George von Frankenstein who, it is related, in 1531 took issue with the fiery dragon dwelling in a local bog, to which was delivered an annual quota of fair maidens. This George slew the dragon, but in the battle his knee was lacerated by its poisonous tail, an injury to which he shortly succumbed.[147] Here again is the element of a poisoned wound of the leg: Sir James in the Essex story appears to have died from exhaustion, but his son received the wound; probably because the dragon was already dead its poison was weaker and he escaped with only the loss of a leg.

Burials

All Saints' church would have become the centre of their religious life when the Tyrells settled at Heron, although not all of them chose to be buried there, for reasons it is impossible to ascertain. The earliest recorded interment is that of Alice Coggeshall, the first wife of Sir John Tyrell, who died in 1422, and whose memorial slab, cracked and surface-worn, survives in the church, and some of its magnificent detail can still be seen. She is depicted in a loose-sleeved gown and mitred headdress, standing beneath a vaulted canopy. On each side of her head are shields of arms—a cross between four scallop shells, for Coggeshall, on her right, and Coggeshall dimidiating Tyrell on her left. (Note.—It is usual for the husband's arms to be on the dexter side and the wife's on the sinister, they are reversed in this dimidiation. Furthermore, the conjoined arms should be on dexter side and the wife's single coat sinister.) On each side of the central figure are five small figures in cartouches, representing the 10 children she bore to John Tyrell. Nine of these hold labels recording their names, though these are not any longer discernible.

The small guide book to the church states that in the 10 niches are the sons and daughters of the deceased and continues: 'Of these all but one bear in their hands labels inscribed with their names, Thomas, Willms. sen., Johnes, Will. jun., Johes, Tyrell cler., Alicia, Elizabeth Alianora'. Assuming that Elizabeth and Alianora are two distinct persons—not clear from the punctuation—this makes nine named children. Now John and Alice were evidently bereft of inspiration if they felt obliged to use the names William and John each for two sons, and not, as one would imagine, because the first of the name had died before the next one was born, but to name one 'Tyrell Tyrell' appears rather too improbable.

A different version is given by Morant (1768), presumably at second hand, as he refers to Weever (*Funeral Monuments,* 1631), but Newcourt (*Repertorium,* 1710) gives the same list, as follows: 1. Walterus. 2. Thomas. 3. Willielmus sen. 4. Johannes. 5. Willielmus jun. 6. Johannes Tyrell clericus. Filiae 1. Alicia. 2. Elizabetha. 3. Alianora. 4. Worn out. This last figure, a female, has her hands clasped as if in prayer and may therefore have been a nun.

This latter list appears the more likely, and probably the names were legible at that time. Although John's successor was Thomas, naming his first son Walter after his own father would seem logical, and, for that matter, sufficiently unimaginative to accord with the naming of his other sons. Walter must have predeceased his father, leaving the second son, Thomas, as heir to the estates. Sir John himself was buried, not at East Horndon, but in the church of the Augustine Friars in the City of London, as was Catherine, his second wife, and two of his sons, Sir William of Beeches, and Sir William of Gipping. The latter's son and heir, the notorious Sir James Tyrell, was also buried there after his beheading in 1502. The other Tyrell recorded as resting in this church was Sir William, the eldest son of Sir Thomas and grandson of the above Sir John and Dame Alice, who died in 1471.[148]

The Austin (or Augustine) Friars' church in the city appears to have possessed a high status for interment at this time. Founded by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, in 1253, it became the last resting place of Bohuns, Arundells and de Vere, Earls of Oxford, during the succeeding two centuries, and one supposes that the Tyrell interest was through their association with the de Veres.

It may well be that many Tyrells were interred in the vault at East Horndon, and their monuments destroyed after the Reformation; all that has survived into recent times are the remains of two of these.

1. On the north side of the chancel is a recess in 15th-century style, with an arched and groined roof, and the brick walls panelled with a double row of cinquefoil-headed arcades (Plate 10). Above the arch is fixed a shield of arms with Tyrell impaling a lion rampant guardant. This is a modern replacement of the old shield recorded in 1895,[149] which fell down 'and was broken into many pieces' before 1900.[150] The lion arms are stated to be those of the family of Marney, and thus the shield would be that of Sir Thomas, the son and heir of John and Alice, who married Anne, the daughter of Sir William Marney of Layer Marney in Essex, and who died in 1476. Apparently this recess is, or was, commonly known as the 'Marney Chapel'.[150]

In his will Sir Thomas directed that he 'be buried in the chancell of the church of Esthornedon in Essex aforesaid, under the place where the Sepulchre is wont to stand their, and I will that their be a tomb of tymber or of stone for me and my wyf according honestly for our degree'.[151] This direction accords exactly with the arched recess, as the Easter Sepulchre was always situated on the north side of the chancel. Some churches evidently had a special structure upon, or into, which the Sacrament was placed on Good Friday, to remain until Easter Day, when it was returned to its usual reservation in a pyx suspended over the high altar, but in all probability the majority used some temporary structure or the top of a conveniently-placed altar tomb. The wording of this will suggests that the Sepulchre at East Horndon was of the temporary variety, and the tomb of Sir Thomas was to be placed there—doubtless to serve in future years an annual function of Sepulchre for the Sacrament. This was evidently an altar tomb, the defaced top of which has in recent years been restored to its rightful position, raised on a base. A description of the church in 1895 describes the recess as 'in a very forlorn state, and is made use of as a place for the boy to blow the organ bellows in, and to keep a safe containing the parish registers. The brass of a lady in sixteenth (?) century costume is fixed on the west wall, taken from a slab laid in the centre of the floor, now unfortunately boarded over. An inscription cut on some brass strips or edging, which have been preserved, is supposed to belong to this slab, but it cannot at present be verified on account of the boarding. It runs as follows 'Here lyeth Thomas Tyrell, Knight, son and heir of John Tyrell, Knight, and Dame Ann his wife daughter of William Marney, Knight, which Thomas deceased the 25th day of March in the year of . . .'. Here the inscription is imperfect; all that remains is '. . . day of . . .', '. . . the year of our . . .' and '. . . sawles God have mercy. Amen'. A blank has been purposely left on the brass to fill up the date of Dame Anne's death, so that it was evidently cut during her life.[149]

The east window formerly contained memorial glass to this Sir Thomas. Weever (*Funeral Monuments*), in 1631, recorded the remains of the inscription as '. . . Tyrell, Knyth, and Dame . . . and for al the soulys shuld be preyed for. Pray for the welfare of the seyd Thomas Tyrrell, Knyth, of John Tyrrell, Knyth, Alyce hys wyffe and for all Christen souls . . . the welfare of the seyd Dame Anne . . . ter of William Marney, Knyth, . . . and . . . and . . . bet hys wiffe and for all Christen Souls'.

If anything of this still remained at that time it was replaced towards the mid-19th century by a window in memory of a late rector of East Horndon. This was destroyed

during the 1939–45 war. Until recently there was a shield of the Tyrell arms in the east window of the south chapel.

It has been suggested above that damage to, and loss of, memorials might be attributable to the iconoclastic excesses of the 17th century, and this is largely speaking true as a generalisation, but perhaps was not entirely the case at East Horndon where a critical visitor to the church wrote, in 1631, 'There be other funerall Monuments in ths Church erected to the honour of this family; but their inscriptions are all torne or worne out, and their Sepulchres like the rest foulie defaced. These Tirells (me thinkes) having been gentlemen for many revolutions of yeares, of exemplarie note, and principall regard, in this countrey, might have preserved these houses of rest for their Ancesters, from such violation. But the Monuments are answerable to the Church, both ruinous'[152] So perhaps the Puritans merely put the finishing touches to a century of neglect!

One item in Sir Thomas's will is of particular interest in connection with the church, viz.: 'I woll that yf I make nott up in my life tyme to the steple and new werk which I have bigon at Easthorndon aforesaid, that thanne myn executours and feoffees see that it may be made up and doon to the worshipp of oure lorde Jhu, and that it be made sure in such wise that the stepill fall nott dooun'.[151]

There is evidence to suggest that most early churches had some form of spire, reaching to heaven, on top of the tower, and local records abound in entries noting their dilapidation and collapse. But, whereas today the word 'steeple' is frequently considered to be synonymous with spire, this is incorrect and particularly so in earlier times, so that a 15th-century reference to a steeple could be to what we call the tower, with or without some embellishment upon its top. All Saints' today has a small pyramidal 'spire', a type very common in the eastern counties, and this was probably its original form.

It is apparent that Sir Thomas was, during the latter part of his life, engaged upon repairs and renovations to the church. The present structure probably dates from about the end of the 15th century, so would seem to be the product of his concern, and the necessary finance allocated to it by himself and his heirs who must have completed the task. Strange it is, then, that a recently-restored and well-loved church should, after the passage of but one and a quarter centuries or so from its completion, have decayed and been allowed to decay by its patronal family to a condition described in 1631 as 'ruinous'.

2. Forming an aisle to the south of the chancel is the Tyrell chapel separated from it by open arcades. To the west of this is a small projecting 'chapel' with a gallery over it, facing a similar one on the north side of the church and forming, as it were, a short transept. In this recess is the remains of an old altar tomb under an ornamental canopy. The tomb top, a Purbeck marble slab, once held inlaid brass plates, but there now remains one fragment only, that of a knight in armour kneeling, with his sons behind him; those of his wife and daughters, and any inscriptions and arms have gone.

This monument could be to either Sir Thomas of Heron, who died in 1512, and directed in his will that he 'be buried in the south side of the quere of East Horndon,[151] which would fit the siting of this tomb, or to Humphrey Tyrell of Little Warley, uncle of this Sir Thomas, and son of the Thomas described above. There is evidence from the will of Humphrey's son, John, that his father had been interred at East Horndon, but the site of the tomb is not here quoted: '. . . and my body to be buried in the

chancell of little Warley aforesaid before alhalowes w.t a stone over me in lyke wyse as my father humphrey Tyrell lyeth in Eashorndon Church'.[153] Humphrey was buried in 1507, and subsequently his widow Elisabeth left instruction to be buried 'by the Body of my late husband Humphrey Tyrell'.[154]

Another Tyrrell buried in the church, according to the directions in his will, was John of Heron, who died in 1540. He did not have any sons, so the monument under discussion could not be in his memory, and his own monument must be lost.

Apparently, this 'chapel' has long been known as the 'Petre Chantry' and no suggestion has been put forward to account for this name, but a reasonable explanation for this could arise from the interment there of this John of Heron. After his death, Anne, his widow, re-married—to Sir William Petre, Secretary of State to Henry VIII, and the erection of a memorial to John might have been carried out by Lady Petre and her husband and thus provide the association of that name with the 'chapel', wherein presumably John was buried. A similar derivation may apply to the 'Marney Chapel' in the chancel.

It is evident that at least two of the monuments of the Tyrrells have been lost from East Horndon, and one can only surmise that others have likewise disappeared. There does not seem to be any positive evidence connecting either of the two above-mentioned—Sir Thomas of Heron and Humphrey of Warley—with the remaining memorial, and it could, of course, be to some other of whose interment no record remains. Assuming it to be one or the other, Sir Thomas 'in the south side of the quere', might seem to fit more aptly than Humphrey, 'w.t a stone over me' which is less specific but it is, of course, not really possible to infer from this latter what type of tomb was constructed. It is also worth noting that the tomb shows four sons: Sir Thomas appears to have had four sons, but Humphrey had six.

For one and a quarter centuries after the death of John in 1540 there is a blank in the record of Tyrrell monuments at East Horndon. The next one to be found there is the slab to the old royalist, Sir John, who died in 1676, recovered from beneath the floor during the renovations at the beginning of this century. Most of his descendants, until the extinction of the line at the end of the 18th century, were buried here and their memorials can still be seen in the Tyrell chapel.

A somewhat curious tradition—recorded in an account of East Horndon in 1900—says 'the heart of Anne Boleyn is buried in this tomb' in the Petre chapel. The writer acknowledged that this was very unlikely: 'In all probability the heart may have been deposited in the Church for a single night upon the journey to the family home at Rochford'.[150] More recently the story was revived in *Essex Countryside, the County Magazine,* of October 1965, with an article entitled 'East Horndon and the Legend of the Royal Head'. Whereas it may be conceded that for legendary purposes it makes little difference whether the anatomical part of the executed queen was her heart or her head, it is inexcusable that the facts of history here presented should be such a farrago of nonsense. If it were not that the author is stated to have 'written and illustrated' this piece which includes two photographs of the interior of the church, it would not be difficult to imagine that he had never visited it.

1. His photograph of 'the altar tomb of the Tyrell chapel, where according to legend lies the head of Anne Boleyn' in fact depicts the restored monument to Sir Thomas (1476) in its arched recess on the north side of the chancel.

2. The memorial to Alice Coggeshall (1422), wife of John Tyrell is described as 'a remarkable incised slab of stone with an inscription to Thomas Tyrell, Knight, and his wife Anne, dated 1422'.

3. He records that 'There are other monuments to the royalist Sir John Tyrell (1645), and to Dame Martha, his wife, who died in 1670'. Sir John's ledger stone on the chapel floor clearly states that he died in March 1675, and a wall monument gives December 1679 as the date of his wife Martha's decease! (Note.—This latter memorial also records John's death, but gives 5 April 1676 as the day he died, the only possible explanation for which being that this was, in fact, the day he was buried. In the old-style calendar, the New Year began on 25 March, thus despite the seemingly long interval between death and burial John must have died on or before 24 March *1675*, and been interred at East Horndon some two weeks later, in *1676*. However, neither of these dates bears much resemblance to the 1645 quoted in the article.)

4. After referring to Walter Tyrell killing William Rufus comes the statement 'As a result of this incident it was decreed that the Tyrell family would not be allowed to live nearer London than twenty miles, and Herongate, together with East Horndon, is just outside this distance, and so for over 500 years all members of the family resided at Heron Hall'. The patent absurdity of this contribution to history is sufficiently manifest to require no further comment, except the observation that what was described as a popular legend in 1895,[149] has become a 'decree' in 1965.

It is to be regretted that the little guide book entitled, 'All Saints' Church, East Horndon. Church History', displays a similar lack of accuracy in its record of church monuments. Much of the descriptive matter is taken practically word for word from the accounts of 1895 and 1900, mentioned above, which do not coincide with what can be seen today, since renovations at the beginning of this century provided an altered picture of things. This restoration work does receive some mention, however, but was all too much for the author. Thus:

> During the restoration work at the beginning of this century, a tombstone of Sir Thomas Tyrell dated 1450, was found covered up, and has been raised on a plinth in this Tyrell Chantry. The inscription which is surmounted by the Tyrell arms in large size is as follows:
>
> [Here follows the full inscription on the slab of]
>
> John Tyrell, Kt. ob. 1675

The first part refers, of course, to Sir Thomas's tomb of 1476.

It has been noted earlier that considerable repairs to the church were carried out towards the end of the 15th century, but yet it was recorded as being ruinous in the early part of the 17th century. After the Restoration occurs a period of apparent improvement, with burials here of Sir John in 1675, and most of his descendants for the next 100 years, and the vault beneath the Tyrell chapel, wherein they are laid, was described in 1900 as 'of comparatively modern date'.[150] The inference must therefore be that some restoration or rebuilding was undertaken early in this period, possibly by the grandson and successor of John, the royalist, who mistakenly caused his own arms--Tyrell with a hand in dexter chief, for a baronet—to be carved on old John's ledger stone. The last Tyrell interment in the vault was in 1817: Elizabeth, the younger daughter of Sir John, the fifth baronet, and thus ended their 400-year connection with All Saints' church. Less than a century later the church was so derelict

and unsafe that it had to be closed for practically ten years, from 1898 to 1908, during which time repairs were made to the foundations and roof. In the course of this work the old oak roof was discovered and cleaned, and the remaining monuments restored to their present condition.

Unfortunately, once again this church became ruinous and unsafe, with its foundations slipping, and no longer able to be used. Only the injection of a large amount of capital could now preserve it from the inevitability of complete collapse:

> In the mid nineteen sixties it had already become necessary to put in wooden props because two inner pillars were broken, and the wall between them leaning against the organ. Then a tramp broke in and left a fire behind;—the Fire Brigade were able to save the church but as the outer and inner doors of the tower were both destroyed it was easy for vandals to do further damage. They stole the lead from the tower, smashed the organ and stole the pipes, stole the lead from the coffins in the vault, and smashed all the oil lamps and anything else that could be smashed. Over the succeeding years vandals kept breaking in at intervals, and on one occasion 'stole three of the large bells from the bell tower, and in letting them down, damaged two walls of the tower seriously'.[155]

This was the state of affairs at the end of the decade, but, happily, in 1971 there began another operation to save the church; this time by the 'All Saints' Society' which relies heavily upon donations from Tyrell descendants and connections in the United States.

In the course of the dereliction the Dame Alice slab was removed, for greater safety, and placed in the Essex church of Layer Marney, which, of course, has associations with the family of Anne Marney, the daughter-in-law of Dame Alice, but in 1977 it was restored to its rightful home at East Horndon.

All Saints' has once again been given a new lease of life, and should withstand the ravages of time into another century, but will history then repeat itself? Let us hope not.

Chapter Seven

TYRELLLS OF GIPPING

THE TYRELLS OF GIPPING and Stowmarket, Suffolk, are said to be descended from William, senior, the third son of Sir John of Heron and Alice Coggeshall. A William Tyrell, Esq., occurs as a mainpernor in Norfolk in 1445,[1] but this could apply to at least three of the name, William of Gipping, William of Beeches, and William, son of Thomas of Heron. However, a reference in 1459 to 'William Tirell of Gipping, Suffolk, the elder, esq'[2] confirms that this is the man in question, though contradicting the assertion that he was beheaded, as a Lancastrian follower, by Edward IV on Tower Hill in 1456.[3] The date and method of his death therefore remain uncertain.

William married Margaret, the daughter of Robert Darcy of Maldon, who is commemmorated by a portrait in glass in Long Melford church. They had two historically-known sons, Sir Thomas, who was Master of the Horse to Richard III at his coronation, and Sir James, the eldest son. They are also stated to have had three other sons: Edward, John and John.[4]

Sir James Tyrell of Gipping

Son and heir of William. William, his father, possibly was a Lancastrian supporter, certainly his cousin, Sir William, espoused that cause, but there is no doubt that James was a strong Yorkist, and supporter of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. He fought at Tewkesbury in 1471 after which he was knighted, and in 1473 was appointed to conduct the Countess of Warwick, widow of Richard Nevill, to the north of England. In 1477 he was M.P. for Cornwall. He fought with Richard of Gloucester in the war with Scotland and was made Knight Banneret in 1482. He took part in the coronation of Richard III, and became a Knight of the King's body. In 1483 he was commissioned to array the men of Wales against the rebellious Duke of Buckingham and others in Wales and the Marches.

In 1484 he was made Steward, for life, of the Duchy of Cornwall, and became Sheriff of the Lordship of Wenlock, Steward of the lordships of Newport, Wenlock, Kevoeth, Meredith, Lavenitherny and Lanthoesant, for life. He did not fight with Richard at Bosworth as shortly before this he was sent to Guisnes. Henry VII, rather curiously, continued to employ him; although he lost his Welsh offices, in 1485/6 he was made Sheriff of Glamorgan and Morgannock, with Constableship of Cardiff Castle, for life, at a salary of £100 a year. He received a general pardon on 16 June 1485 and another on 16 July following. In 1485 Tyrell is mentioned as lieutenant of the Castle of Guisnes in a commission appointing ambassadors to treat with those of Maximilian, and in 1487 he was granted the Stewardship of the Lordship of Ogmore

in South Wales. He was present at the battle of Dixmude in 1489 and took a prominent part in the ceremonial attending the making of the peace of Etaples in 1492, and was present at the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York in 1494. In 1498 the Milanese ambassador in England, writing to the Duke of Milan, referred to the King of England 'sending a stately embassy to the emperor, a knight, a doctor and a herald'; the knight was Sir James Tyrell, Captain of Guisnes.[5]

In 1499 Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, fled from England, and stayed some time with Tyrell at Guisnes. Henry sent to persuade him to return, which he did, and Tyrell was ordered to come with him. However, he did not fall completely out of favour, and in 1501 was prominent at the reception of Catherine of Aragon. Later that year Suffolk again fled, and Tyrell was induced (it is said by a trick) to surrender Guisnes, where he was staying. He had helped in the first flight and doubtless Henry now had certain knowledge of his treason. He was imprisoned in the tower with his son, and beheaded on Tower Hill on 6 May 1502, afterwards (1503-4) being attainted.[6]

It is said that while in the Tower, knowing he was to die, he made a confession of his murder of the two princes, for which he is notorious. The text has not been preserved, and there is still conflicting argument as to whether the princes were murdered at the behest of Richard or Henry VII, but in either event it appears to have been James Tyrrell who was the recorded instrument of the deed.

> The tyrannous and bloody act is done;
> The most arch deed of piteous massacre,
> That ever yet this land was guilty of.

(The words put into Tyrrell's mouth by Shakespeare, *Richard III,* Act IV, Scene III.)

Gipping Church

The vestry on the north side of the chancel of Gipping church is said to have been built as a chapel by James in remorse for his crime. Although it is possible that the whole chapel was rebuilt by Sir James it is more likely that his son was responsible for this pleasing composition in the Perpendicular style (see Plate 14). The glass, mutilated by the Puritans, was subsequently patched together, but without any reference to its original order of composition. Among the medley of legs, arms and heads the family crest (the boar's head) remains, and three almost perfect figures which appear to be Dame Anne, the wife of Sir James, a son of his, and an abbot—perhaps that of St. Osyth, passing over to him the patronage of the chapel at its re-edification.[7]

On the dressed stone buttresses to this flint church are carved the Tyrell arms, and in many places the Tyrell knot, while inside the church there remains one bench-end bearing this family badge (see Plate 16). This knot is repeated again on the spandrel and the side moulding of the square-headed vestry doorway, alternating with two intertwined hearts, while round the head of the arch is carved the inscription 'Pray for Sir James Tirol & Dame Anne his wyf'. This is often interpreted as seeking expiation for his crimes, but the wording is that commonly used in commemorative memorials (Plate 15).

Sir James married Anne, the daughter of Sir John Arundell of Cornwall, by whom he is said to have had three sons, Thomas, his heir, James and William, and a daughter,

Ann. James, the second son, is described in one pedigree as of Columbine Hall, and married Anne, the daughter of John Hotoft of Columbine Hall,[8] and this is amplified by the statement that 'Richard Gurneys of Mendlesham Esq. son and heir of John and Ursula Gurneys (née Berney) aged 22 in 1554 married Margery daughter of James Tyrell of Columbine Hall esq.'.[9] A deed in the church chest at Stowmarket is signed 'Jacob. Tyrell Arm. 7 Hy. VIII 1516'.[10]

Ann, his daughter, is said (Vis. Suffolk 1561) to have married Sir Richard Wentworth of Nettlested, *but see* under 'Warley' for Morant's belief.

The following account of the descendants of Sir James is taken, largely from *The Manors of Suffolk,* by W. A. Copinger, M.A., LL.D. F.S.A., F.R.S.A., printed privately in Manchester 1910, which is evidenced as a work of research and scholarship.

1502–1551. *Sir Thomas of Gipping*

He was pardoned his father's crime 13 April 1504, and on 19 April 1507 was restored to his estates, being subsequently knighted by Henry VIII on Christmas Day 1513 'at Tourraine in the Church' on the same occasion as Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron was dubbed.[11] In 1516 he was on a commission of enquiry about 'a miraculous cure by a Holy Image of our Ladye of Gippeswich'.[12] In 1529 he married Margaret, the daughter of Christopher Willoughby, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by whom he had two children: Sir John of Gipping, his son and heir, and Anne, who married Sir John Clere, Kt., of Ormesby, Norfolk (Vis. Suffolk 1563).

A Tudor manuscript in the College of Arms, said to be of the time of Henry VIII, gives the arms of 'Thomas Tyrell de Gypping in Suffolk' as Argent, 2 chevrons azure within a border engrailed gules; a martlet sable for difference. Motto: Tout pour le Mieulx, and shows his standard, the description of which is: The Cross of St. George. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure a boar's head erect argent, and issuing from the mouth a peacock's tail. Sprinkled with the Tyrell knot, or badge (see Plate II, 47).

Sir Thomas made his will 12 June 1551 and died the same year.[13]

1551–1573. *Sir John of Gipping*

John Tirell, Esq., was one of the Commissioners for Suffolk in a general survey of England in 1522.[14]

In 1553 'The Lady Mary received many gentlemen and Knights into her presence at Keninghall Castle, Norfolk, amongst whom came Master John Sulierde of Haughley, with divers others, including John Tyrell of Gipping'. There were 13,000 men assembled at Framlingham. For their services on this occasion Tyrell and Sulierde were both knighted.[15]

John was knighted in 1553, one of the 'Knights of the Bath, 15 in number made in the Tower of London at the Coronation of Queen Mary',[11] when his arms were recorded as quarterly, Tyrell and Coggeshall with boar's head crest, the same as the Tyrells of Heron.

Sir John was a fervent Catholic and played a prominent part in the Marian persecutions in this part of Suffolk. In 1553 his name is mentioned in connection with the condemnation of Adam Fisher, husbandman of Mendlesham, and Robert Lawson, linen weaver of Stowe, who were both sent to the dungeon at Eye and finally burned. A like fate met Thomas Spicer of Winston, J. Denny, and E. Poole

in 1556, and in 1557 J. Noyes of Laxfield was burned after being brought before Sir John Tyrell and Sir John Sullairde, as was W. Seaman, husbandsman, of Mendlesham. Mrs. Alice Twaites, gentlewoman, and two servants, together with five other married couples were more fortunate in that their lives were spared, but they were all 'persecuted out of the town of Winston'.[16] 'At a place called "Rush Green" (Harleston, Suffolk) is a stone near the roadway, said to mark the place where Sir John Sulyard and Sir John Tyrell burnt their victims during the Marian persecutions'.[17]

Sir John's wife, was Elisabeth, the daughter of Sir John Mondaye, Lord Mayor of London in 1552, who survived him, according to his will.[18] The enrolment of this in the parchment volume of the Probate Register in 1574 displays his arms painted in the margin: Argent 2 chevrons azure, a border engrailed gules. It has been seen above that his father used these arms differenced by a martlet, while a third variation is given in the 1561 visitation: quarterly, 1. Tyrell, 2, Coggeshall, 3. Borgate, 4. Flambard, impaling Mondaye per pale gules and sable, on a cross engrailed argent 5 lozenges purpure, on a chief or 3 eagles legs erased a la quise azure.

Elizabeth was left his house for the term of her life, and sundry plate, and spoons, including 'all those I caused to be made with the Tirrell knott'. This symbol, adopted as the family badge, is peculiar to the Gipping branch of the Tyrells and is not recorded in any of the other related lines (*but see* Heron Hall). Its suggested derivation from three bows, and attribution to Walter of Langham appear therefore to have no foundation. The 'knot' indeed bears little resemblance to bows as depicted in heraldry, and is, in fact, a very ancient Christian symbol, the Triquetra, representing the Trinity. It can be seen in decorative schemes in some churches, and perhaps the earliest extant record of it is on the Frith Stool or 'mercy seat' of St. Wilfrid at Hexham Abbey, dating from *c.* 681 (see Plate 17).

The children of Sir John and Elisabeth, given in his will, are: John, Thomas, Edmund, George, Vincent, and daughters Jane and Alice. He mentions, further, Elisabeth, Mary, Frances, and John, the children of his son Thomas, and 'Elisabeth Howard my grandchild'. John must have been approaching the age of eighty when he died; he was first noted in 1522, and therefore his grandchildren could well be grown up and married. Thus Elisabeth Howard may have been (a) a daughter of a son, and married a Howard; (b) a daughter of a married daughter; or (c) the unmarried daughter of a daughter married to a Howard. Was she a member of the powerful family of Howard of the neighbouring county of Norfolk? Strong circumstantial confirmation of this occurs with the will, in 1599, of 'Eustace Tirrell of Norfolk Gent',[19] who made bequests to 'the second son of my lord Howard' and 'the daughter of my lady of Arundel'. The references to his immediate family—wife Ann, nephew, Richard Tirrell, and three nieces, the daughters of his sister—do not, unfortunately, link up with anything else, so no positive conclusions can be drawn. (Note.—This Eustace can be postulated as one of the Warley family [q.v.].)

Sir John Tyrell was buried on 23 July 1573 in the family chapel in the north aisle of Stowmarket church. 'His tomb was covered with an effigy in brass but the Popish-hating Puritans destroyed it in 1645'. It is said that in spite of his barbarity 'he was not unpopular in the town, for the stone laid over his grave and its brasses were paid for by both parishes, and the parishioners in this manner gave a public testimony of their respectful regard for his memory'.[20] This statement, reputedly taken from the churchwarden's accounts, makes improbable reading since it would be most unusual

for the expenses of a funeral monument to be met by any other than the estate of the deceased.

The children of John and Elisabeth: *Edmund* is said to have married Prudence Frend, by whom he had twin daughters, Mary and Grisell, and another daughter, Elisabeth, and was buried at Stowmarket in 1587.[4] *George,* said to be buried at Stowmarket 1607.[4] *Vincent, Jane* and *Alys,* of whom nothing is known.

Another son, Charles, not recorded in the will, is said to have been buried at Stowmarket in 1608,[4] and likewise a daughter, Anne, who married (1) Robert Petre, and (2) Edward English.[4] This last may be an error for Margaret, for a Margaret English erected a monument in Stowmarket church in 1604 which depicts her with her brother, Thomas, his wife, Mary, and their five sons and four daughters.

John and *Thomas,* the eldest sons became successive heirs to Gipping.

1573–1590. *John Tyrell,* the eldest son, married, firstly Anne, the daughter of Sir John Sulyard, his father's partner in the persecutions. (Her sister, Margaret, is said, in the 1612 Visitation of Suffolk, to have married Sir Henry Tirrell, Kt., who could only be the lord of Heron.) His second wife was Mary, widow of Sir Richard Corbett, and daughter of Sir William Drury of Hawsted, Kt., whom he married in 1565.[21] He died without issue in 1590, being succeeded by Thomas.

1590–1606. *Thomas Tyrell,* the second son of John and Elisabeth, died in 1606.[22] A fine of the Manor of Gipping was levied against him in 1590,[23] and an apprenticing deed of 1592 bears his signature.[24] He married Mary, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gray of Gosfield, Essex, by whom he had the four children mentioned in his father's will: Elisabeth, married to Edward Munday of Kent (V); Mary, married to Thomas Keble (V); Frances, married to Thomas Hastings (V); and John. In addition, he certainly had Thomas, his son and heir, Vincent, George, and James 'of Gipping', as determined by the wills of (a) 1654 Vincent Tyrell,[25] (b) 1654 James Tyrell of Gipping, Esq.,[26] and (c) 1673 Robert Tyrell of St. Martin in the Fields.[27] There was probably also a daughter, Judith, who married Gregory Pagrave (V). This, in fact, makes up the five sons and four daughters shown on his sister's monument. John Tyrell 'of Suffolk' and Thomas Tyrell 'of Suffolk' who matriculated respectively in 1588 (aged 17) and 1589 (aged 10),[28] would seem to be the sons of this Thomas and it would furthermore appear that John was the elder and must therefore have died in his father's lifetime.

The Visitation of Norfolk 1653 appears to confirm the marriage of Frances to Thomas Hastings as his second wife, but the will of James of Gipping refers to the Rectory of Gipping, with all tithes, which he had from his father, Thomas Tyrell, Esq., in 1605, and leased to Thomas Hastings of Hindringham, Norfolk, Gent., in return for marriage with his daughter; the name is difficult to determine, but looks like 'Trace', while in the will of his brother, Vincent, it looks like 'Tizy'. If the Visitation pedgree is right, then Frances, James's sister, must surely have married a son of the same man.

James Tyrell of Gipping, Esq., probably 'Adm. pens. Emmanuel College Cambridge, February 1590-1, Matriculated *c.* 1592, adm. Gray's Inn March 1595-6'.[29] By his wife, Trace/Tizy he left two sons recorded in his will—Robert and William. Robert, the elder son, married his cousin, Dorothy, daughter of Thomas of Gipping, and bore

arms, as given in the 1664 Visitation: Argent, 2 chevrons azure, a border engrailed gules, a roundel dexter chief for difference. A Robert 'of Suffolk' matriculated sizar Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Michaelmas 1627, adm. Gray's Inn February 1632–3. Perhaps son of James and brother of James 'of Suffolk' matriculated pensioner Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Michaelmas 1627.[29]

George appears to have emigrated, as Vincent in his will makes a bequest 'to my brother George, if he returns into England again'.

1606–1637. *Thomas Tyrell* of Gipping, died 20 April 1637.[30]

Recorded as a Charity Trustee 1623 in Stowmarket.[31] He married Anne, the daughter of William Keble of Gipping, who recorded in his will of 1608 that there were 10 children of his son-in-law, Thomas. William also mentions a brother, Giles, but not Thomas Keble, whose will of 1646 (Probate 1648) referring to 'my brother-in-law James Tyrrell Esq and his son Robert', must make him the husband of Mary, James's sister, and possibly another brother of William Keble.

Children of Thomas, with ages in 1612 as given by Visitation: 18 years, *Thomas,* his son and heir, 15 years, *William* 'of Butley Abbey', second son, and godson of of William Keble, matriculated pensioner from Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Easter 1609, B.A. 1612–3, adm. at Gray's Inn February 1613–4.[29] He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Gilbert, Kt., widow of (1) Sir William Frith (or Forth) of Butley Abbey, and (2) Graham Perkins.[32] Dorothy died in 1641 (monument at Stowmarket), and William married secondly Anne, the daughter of Thomas Browne of Elsing, Norfolk, widow of William Frith (or Forth), son of Sir William. Will dated 1657; 13 years, *John,* probably he 'of Suffolk', who matriculated pensioner Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Easter 1613;[29] 11 years, *Francis*; 9 years, *Edward*; 20 years, *Ann*; 18 years, *Mary,* married John Raydon (will of Vincent, her uncle); 7 years, *Dorothy,* married her cousin, Robert, son of James (V); 3 years, *Susan,* the second wife of George Pretyman of Bacton, who by his first wife, Elisabeth Wilson of Suffolk, had two sons, Peter and Thomas.

Susan probably married prior to 1640, died 21 April 1674, and was buried in Bacton church where her monument, bearing the arms of Pretyman and Tyrell, records that she left issue one son and five daughters. The will of her brother, Robert, 1763,[27] gives her son's name as 'Tyrrell Prettyman my nephew and godson', and refers to four nieces—Mrs. Clere Pretyman (either the wife of Peter or Thomas, her sons by the first marriage, or unmarried—'mistress' could be applied to a spinster), Mrs. Susan Cudden, Mrs. Anne Freere, and Mrs. Dorothy Smithy 'for all her kind love to me begun in her Infancy and continued until this very time'. Presumably some of these were the daughters of his sister Susan, to whom he gave 'my Emrod Ring sett about with Thirteen little diamonds'. He also makes references to a 'brother', Mr. Robert Tyrell, after referring to Mrs. Dorothy Smithy. This makes sense only if it meant that this Robert was brother of Dorothy, in which case she would not be one of Susan's daughters, and they would both be the children of another brother of Robert the devisor. Tyrell Pretyman was born 1643, and was buried at Wetherden 1725. His youngest son by a first marriage was named Tyrell and died 1695. Tyrell, a grandson by his second marriage, is said to have emigrated to the West Indies, was baptised at Bury St. Edmunds, married at Palgrave, Norfolk 1707 (?), Sarah Lambert.[33]

1637–1676. *Thomas Tyrell,* Esq. of Gipping, buried 23 October 1676.[34]

Referred to as a Charity Trustee in Stowmarket 1653,[35] and 'Thoma Tirell' occurs in a fine concerning purchase of lands in Groton 1663.[36] He married the daughter of William Yelverton (named as Dionisia in the Visitation, but referred to as Harriet by Copinger) by whom he is said to have had a daughter Diana or Dionisia.[4] He married, secondly (V), Mary, the daughter of . . . Lee of . . ., Buckingham, Kt., by whom he had two sons, Thomas and Edmund. At the Visitation his arms are shown as Tyrell with a martlet in dexter chief for difference.[37] Copinger records that Thomas, the elder son, seems to have got into difficulties and his father had to find for him a sum of £1,060 for which the son gave his father a bond. Ultimately Edmund, described as of Heigham, near Norwich, found the money necessary for Thomas to repay the father's debt which the son had incurred, and Thomas, the son, conveyed Gipping to Edmund Tyrell in fee by an indenture dated 12 June 1676, which lists: the Manor of Gipping and Gipping Hall and all lands, etc., appurtaining; several closes are named, and various messuages in occupation of tenants.

Thomas Tyrell, the son, had married Keziah, the daughter of Sir William Harvey of Hengrave (? of Ickworth) in 1650, by whom he had two daughters, Susan and Keziah. Thomas, his father, died in 1676, and was buried on 23 October.[38] Thomas, the son, died either shortly before his father[38] or in 1678, as stated on the inventory of his goods at Gipping (T). (*See* section on Inventories.) However, in 1678, Susan and Keziah, the two daughters and co-heirs of the younger Thomas, then residing at Bury St. Edmunds, in consideration of the full satisfaction by their uncle, Edmund Tyrell, of all sums due to them under any settlement of their father and grandfather, released the Manor of Gipping to the said Edmund Tyrell.

1676–1689. *Edmund Tyrell,* buried at Stowmarket, 4 September 1689.

He married Grace, daughter of Wiseman Bokenham, of Thornham Magna, in 1662, when, in consideration of £100 marriage portion, he put in trust for himself and wife and their heirs certain properties in Bury St. Edmunds and Gipping, but not the manor which was not then his. After his death the manor passed to his son and heir, Thomas, said to have a sister Grace.[4]

1689–1735. *Thomas Tyrell,* Esq. of Gipping. Buried at Stowmarket, 2 February 1735.

He was admitted pensioner (aged 18) at Trinity College, Cambridge, 3 March 1684/5. Born at Gipping, school at Bury St. Edmunds, matriculated 1685, admitted Gray's Inn February 1687–8.[29]

He mortgaged Gipping Manor for £300 in 1698 and from time to time executed other mortgages on his estate amounting to £1,600. These were the cause of a somewhat bitter memorandum made in later years by his son and heir, Edmund:

> Let these mortgage deeds which I have redeemed be a monument of Terrour to succeeding generations of the Tyrells never to involve their estates and Heirs in such difficulties as my Father did me which often proves the Ruin and destruction of men and Familys and let them remember that if they do recover their ancient inheritances tis only and solely the Hand of Heaven which helps them out of such and all other difficultys. Laus Deo.
>
> Edmund Tyrell 1742

Thomas married, at Benhall, 22 October 1702, Anne, the daughter of Sir John Duke of Benhall, Bart., M.P. for Oxford, who died before 1732.[4] They are recorded as having nine children, Edmund, the eldest son, and two other sons, Thomas Bokenham and Robert, and six daughters, the youngest of which, Jenny, married her cousin, Edmund Tyrrell, Esq., of Weston Market.[39] It is not apparent who this 'cousin' was, as her father, Thomas, is not shown as having any brother, nor for that matter her grandfather, Edmund, whose only mentioned brother was Thomas, who left two daughters. It seems the 'cousinship' must be several stages removed, and Edmund descended from one of the younger sons a few generations back.

1735-1749. *Edmund Tyrell,* Esq. Baptised at Benhall, Suffolk, 9 September 1703, died October 1749, and buried in St. Michael's church. Married:

(1) Mary, the daughter of Mr. Robert Sparrow of Kettleburgh, marriage settlement dated 1738;[40] children Mary and Sarah.[4]

(2) Mary, the daughter of Thomas Bright of Netherall in Pakenham, Suffolk, baptised 16 November 1715, buried St. Michael's, 18 September 1753, by whom he had one son, Edmund, who succeeded.

1749-1799. *Edmund Tyrell,* Esq. Born 15 November 1744, died unmarried 30 March 1799, aged 54, buried at Stowmarket.

High Sheriff 1774.[41] He devised his estates to his cousin, the Rev. Charles Tyrrell, Rector of Thurston, the son of Jenny, his father's sister.

1799-1811. *Rev. Charles Tyrell.* Died 1811, aged seventy.

In 1808 Charles leased Gipping Hall for seven years (subsequently renewed for four years) to Sir John Shelley, Bart., at a rent of £367. This gave free access to and use of all the buildings and utensils and the lawn of 65 acres, the pasture ground called Chapel Yard, and the gamekeeper's house, with rights of hunting, hawking, shooting, coursing, sporting, and fishing; reserving only to Charles Tyrell 'a Garret in the said messuage called the Lumber Room, and part of the Timber yard and the shop thereto'.

Charles Tyrell married Elisabeth Baker of Stow Upland, who died in 1832, and left one son, Charles, his heir.

1811-1872. *Charles Tyrell,* Esq. Died 2 January 1872, buried at Haughley.

High Sheriff of Suffolk 1815, M.P. for the county in 1830 and 1834, married 8 June 1801, Elisabeth, daughter of Richard Ray of Plashwood and Haughley, in whose right he became possessed of the Blashwood estate. She died in 1826, after which he married Mary . . . who died *s.p.* 1849.[4] By his first wife Charles had two sons, Charles, his heir, and Walter Robert, and three daughters, Anne, Eleanor and Louisa.[4]

1872-1887. *Charles Tyrell* of Plashwood.

He died 1 August 1887, unmarried, and the manor passed to his brother.

1887-1891. *Walter Robert Tyrell,* Lt.-Col. 1st Battalion Royal Suffolk Volunteers.

He died, unmarried, 23 June 1891, when the Manor of Gipping passed under his will to his nephews Charles Alexander Browne, R.N., and Walter William Browne, Staff Commander, R.N., the sons of his sister, Louisa Jane Tyrell and her husband William Browne.

Chapter Eight

TYRELLS OF SOUTH OCKENDON AND THORNTON

THE VISITATION PEDIGREES state that this branch derived from Sir Thomas Tyrrell of South Ockendon, the second son of Sir Thomas of Heron and Anne Marney. He married Elisabeth, the daughter and heriess of Sir Henry Bruin, Kt., of South Ockendon, whose ancestors had the manor through the heiress of the Rokele family. Burke (*Extinct Baronetage*, 1844) described him as a Knight Banneret, and declared him to be Master of the Horse to Katherine, Queen Consort of King Henry VIII. This, however, is not compatible with the visitations which say that Elisabeth Bruin subsequently married Sir William Brandon and had issue Charles, later Duke of Suffolk. Sir William Brandon was Standard Bearer to Henry Tudor (later Henry VII) at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, and was killed on that occasion at the hand of Richard III in his abortive sortie upon Henry's entourage. It can be seen clearly from the I.P.M. of 'Elisabeth Brandon' that Burke is wrong and the visitations correct.

The inquisition[1] delineates the heirs and successors of Sir Maurice and Elisabeth Bruin, whose son, Henry, predeceased his mother, leaving his two daughters, Alice and Elisabeth as the co-heiresses of the family. It records that Alice married Robert Harleston and had a son, John. She subsequently re-married (after Robert's decease) with John Hevenyngham, by whom she had a son, George. Elisabeth married Thomas Tyrell, Esq., and had issue, Hugh Tyrell. After the death of Thomas, Elisabeth married William Brandon, Kt., and thirdly, William Mallery, Esq., whom she also survived. She died in 1493; the I.P.M. which was held in June 1494 states that she died '26 March last', but as the writ was dated 7 March 1494 she must have died the previous year.

It is worth noting, with reference to the I.P.M. of Henry Bruin of 1461, that he left 'two daughters and coheiresses, Alice the wife of John Berners, and Elisabeth the wife of Thomas Tyrell',[2] and another notice of this records the daughters as 'Alice aged 18 the wife of John Berners esq. and Elisabeth aged 17 the wife of Thomas Tyrell esq.'.[3] It would therefore seem that Alice was thrice married, though why her first husband was not mentioned in her grandmother's will is rather obscure. Perhaps the reason was that there was no issue by this marriage, but here again we see a disparity between the I.P.M. which does not record Charles, the son of William Brandon and Elisabeth, and the visitation which gives this parentage.

Elisabeth's inquisition declared that Hugh Tyrell, aged 23 or more, was her son and heir, and he and his cousin, John Harleston, the heirs to the manors and advowson of South Ockendon. Charles Brandon, the son of William, was born in 1484, which suggests the probability of Elisabeth having married William Brandon in 1482 or 1483, after the death of her husband, Sir Thomas Tyrell, about 1480 to 1482. Thomas is said to have been succeeded by his son, Sir William of Ockendon

(V), who is not mentioned in this inquisition, but as it was usual to name only the eldest son as heir he cannot be excluded on these grounds. Perhaps Morant's explanation that Hugh was succeeded by his brother William is the correct one.

Among the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII[4] is an undated letter from Suffolk to Wolsey in favour of 'his nephew Humphrey Tyrell'. In 1518 'Humphrey son and heir apparent of William Tirell of South Wokyngdon, Essex', was 'granted livery of the lands of his wife Joan who is daughter and heir of Robert the son of George and Sibilla Yngleton'.[5] Taken together, these must mean that William was Charles Brandon's (Suffolk's) half-brother and therefore a brother of Hugh, who was the heir of South Ockendon, which substantiates Morant's statement.

However, Humphrey seems to have been born about 1480–85, as he was admitted to Cambridge in 1497, so his father, William, must have been born at least before 1465, which would make him older than his brother Hugh, the son and heir, who was 'aged 23 or more' in 1493. Elisabeth, their mother, was married to Thomas Tyrell by 1461, and it would therefore appear strange to find no children before Hugh in *c.* 1470, though it is possible that several died young or were females.

Another curiosity is 'William Tyrell the elder Knt.', listed as one of many feoffees of an estate in Kent in 1465, and apparently still alive in 1495.[6] He seems unlikely to be the father of Humphrey, who was evidently living in 1518, but it is difficult to equate him with any other of that name at this time: William the Elder of Gipping was dead long before this; William the younger of Beeches died *c.* 1475; and William of Heron, the nephew of these two, died in 1461. It is therefore necessary to consider William as the father of Humphrey. As a feoffee in 1465 he would need to have been born before 1444, and thus be in his late thirties when Humphrey was born, and well over 80 in 1518. This is all possible, but makes him completely incompatible with a William, the son of Elisabeth Bruin, already shown to be father of Humphrey.

Removing this William does not completely resolve the problem. Humphrey's father must have been son of Elisabeth, but cannot have been younger than Hugh, which begs the question of why Hugh was the first heir, followed by William, presumably in tail lacking male heir of Hugh. It is possible to speculate upon this: was he disinherited as main heir, was he 'non compos mentis', or was he perhaps an illegitimate son of Thomas Tyrell (in which case he would not be any blood relation to Charles Brandon, so the 'nephew Humphrey' would be a polite fiction).

It seems that William married Elisabeth, the daughter of Thomas Bodley, Esq.(V), and their son, Humphrey Tyrell, married the heiress of Thornton in Buckinghamshire, whence the descent becomes fairly clear. (Burke wrongly states that Elisabeth was the daughter of *the* Thomas Bodley who founded the Bodleian Library at Oxford, but he lived about a century later.)

The Manor of Thornton, Buckinghamshire

Bordering the River Ouse in north Buckinghamshire, Thornton has no important historical connections, but some noteworthy features attach to the manor and church. In the latter part of the 13th century the manor came into the family of Chastillon, and in 1344 John Chastillon founded a chantry here in the church of St. Michael and All Angels (adjoining the manor house), which was entirely rebuilt

at about the same time, presumably by the said John. In 1418, a later John Chastillon transferred the manor to John Barton junior, who died in 1434 and left a bequest to rebuild this chantry. After the death of Isabel, the widow of John Barton in 1457, the manor passed into the hands of trustees, being eventually sold, in 1463, to Robert Ingleton, Chancellor of the Exchequer to King Edward IV. The chantry was rebuilt by Robert Ingleton about 1468, in accordance with the will of John Barton.[7] Two alabaster figures, the one of a man in plate armour, the other of a lady in sleeveless gown and long cloak, now under the tower, were originally under an arch between the chancel and the chantry and are said to be memorials to John Barton and his wife, Isabel.[8]

Robert Ingleton, who died in 1472, is remembered by an elaborate stone tomb chest surmounted by a slab with the figures in brass of himself and his three wives, with their respective children—six sons and 10 daughters—and their shields of arms. The figures are set within an ornamental quadruple canopy which makes this brass one of national importance. Robert's great-granddaughter, Jane who became the family heiress and married Humphrey Tyrrell of South Ockendon, was also commemorated by an altar tomb with a slab bearing a very finely portrayed female figure in mid-16th-century dress (Plate 25).

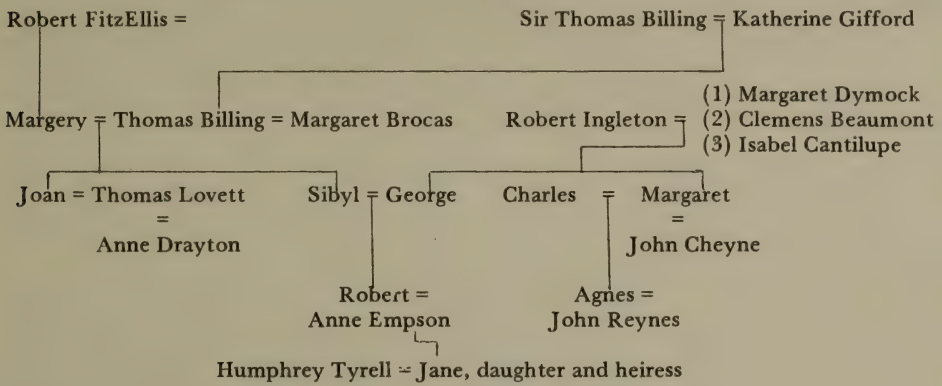
At this time the church consisted of a west tower, a nave with north and south aisles, a chancel in which were the Ingleton monuments, and a north chapel—the Chastillon/Barton chantry—with the Barton effigies under an arch between. In the south aisle were two effigies of priests, at the east end that of Elias de Tingwick, rector of Thornton 1315–1347, and at the west end that of John de Chastillon, rector 1347–1377.[9] Representations in window glass of John Barton and his wife featured in the chantry, and several brasses on the floor of the chancel recorded other Ingletons.[9]

About 1620, the north aisle was pulled down, 'and a Wall run up between the Pillars and Arches'.[9] At the end of the 18th century Dr. William Cotton and his son-in-law, Thomas Sheppard, ravaged the church, destroying the chantry and chancel, blocking the clerestory windows, putting in a false ceiling, and removing all the monuments and brasses. Only the Barton effigies, placed at the back of the church, and the slabs from the tombs of Robert and Jane Ingleton, let into the floor, were preserved.

The carved stone sides of the tomb of Robert Ingleton were evidently placed round the walls of a 'grotto' in the manor grounds, which was floored with medieval encaustic tiles and roofed over with mounds of rubble. There it became neglected and finally forgotten, until its fortuitous discovery in the mid-20th century, following which the pieces were rescued, fitted together again within the church, and Robert's slab replaced upon the top. Unfortunately, exposure to wet for over one and a half centuries has extinguished all but traces of the arms painted upon the shields around the sides of the tomb, but a description of these was given by Browne Willis, the Buckinghamshire historian, in 1755, before the monument's destruction. Each face has arched niches with figures of angels holding shields, two at each end and seven on each side, and sufficient traces of paint remain on some of these to establish their agreement with the descriptions given by Browne Willis. However, they do not figure in the order in which he described them, which suggests that he wrote his account on second-hand information which described the shields and the names associated with

them but did not arrange them sequentially. These descriptions and the vestiges on the tomb itself have been carefully studied, and it has been demonstrated that the arms are all of families connected with the Ingletons by marriage, and are as follows:

Pedigrees Accounting for Arms on Ingleton Tomb:[10]



* * * * *

The Tyrells of Thornton

Robert Ingleton was succeeded by his son, George, who married Sibyl Billing, and dying in 1494 left a son, Robert, who married Anne, the daughter of Sir Richard Empson, Henry VII's tax-gatherer and 'one of the most hated men in the realm'. They had one daughter, Jane, born in 1502, and Robert died in 1503 when Jane, as a minor, was committed as a ward to Sir Richard Empson, her grandfather. When Empson was attainted and executed by Henry VIII in 1510, Jane was given in charge of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who in 1514 assigned the wardship to John Bradbury of London and James Bodley of Walden in Essex. He was presumably a son of the Thomas Bodley whose daughter, Elisabeth, had married William Tyrell of Ockendon, as Jane was given in marriage by James Bodley to Humphrey Tyrell, the son of William and Elisabeth, *c.* 1517 (*V.C.H. Buckinghamshire* gives 'by 1517'. James Bodley was grandfather of Thomas Bodley, 1545-1613, the founder of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.) It is noted in 1518: 'Humphrey son and heir apparent of William Tirell of South Wokyngdon, Essex, granted livery of the lands of his wife Joan who is daughter and heiress of Robert son of George and Sibilla Yngleton'.[5]

1517-1549. *Humphrey Tyrell* of Ockendon and Thornton

After schooling at Eton he was admitted at King's College, Cambridge, in 1497.[11] He died in January 1548/9 and was buried at South Ockendon.[12] Jane, his widow, subsequently married Alexander St. John, as recorded on her tomb, which also states

she had one son, George, who was aged 27 at the time of her decease. Jane died in 1557, aged 54 years and was buried at Thornton (Plates III, 4; 25). (Browne Willis in his history of Buckingham Hundred records the inscription around Jane's slab and gives her age as 55, but the sketch included in his notes recording the monuments at Thornton reads 'fuit quinquagint. quatr. annos', that is to say, 54 years.[13] It is noticeable that there are also differences between these notes and the printed book for other monumental inscriptions at Thornton.)

1549-1571. *George Tyrell.* Born *c.* 1530, died 10 May, 1571, and was buried at Thornton.

On the first page of the Thornton Register that began in 1562 it is written that George was buried on 17 May 1570, but on a loose sheet his interment is given as 16 May 1571. The latter must be the correct date as his I.P.M. records that he died on 10 May, 13 Elizabeth, i.e., 1571.[14]

He married firstly Helen or Elinor, the daughter of Sir Edward Montagu, Chief Justice (who died in 1557 and is shown in his official robes and cap of office on his tomb in the church of Weekley, Northamptonshire). George's children, by this wife, are said to have been: Sir Edward of Thornton, his eldest son and heir; William of Ockendon; Thomas of Rushton, 'filius spurius' (*see* Tyrells of Rushton), Margery, the wife of Thomas Yorke (*but see below*).

George married, secondly, Margery Cooke of Cheshire (V), who subsequently re-married to Richard Leigh of High Leigh, Cheshire, and Oakley, Buckinshamshire. They are said to have had one daughter, Jane, who married (1) Matthew Claver; (2) John Philips; but because of the name it would seem more than probable that Margery was also born of this marriage.

George made his will in 1563,[15] declaring Edward to be his son and heir, and died in 1571, when his I.P.M. records that Edward was aged 19 years, 11 months and 20 days on 18 May, 13 Elizabeth (1571). His Thornton estate is given as: 6 messuages, 4 cottages, 2 water mills, 3 dovecotes, 7 gardens, 7 orchards, 40 acres land, 100 acres meadow, 1,200 acres pasture, 40 acres woods, and a fishery in the 'water of Thornton', and the advowson.[14] In addition, he held the Manor of Oakley, 9 messuages, 4 cottages, 300 acres land, 10 acres meadow, 100 acres pasture, and 160 acres of wood in Oakley and Brill, and also the Manor of Lymes End, alias Little Leckhampstead; 7 messuages, a dove house, 40 acres land, 100 acres meadow, and 100 acres pasture, with a fishery in Little Leckhampstead, alias Lymes End aforesaid; 5 messuages, 2 cottages, 3 gardens and orchards, 200 acres land, 80 acres meadow, 100 acres pasture, and a fishery in Great Leckhampstead; 1 messuage, 40 acres land, 8 acres meadow, and 6 acres pasture, in Nuthorp in Leckhampstead; and 200 acres of wood in Westbury.[14]

Browne Willis stated that George Tyrell 'impaired the Estates of the family very much, and squandered away several Manors,[16] but the evidence for this statement is none too strong. It is possible, now, to make some comparison between the estate of George at his death, and that which Humphrey, his father, obtained by marriage half a century previously. Unknown to Browne Willis, the Muster of 1522[17] lists the value of lands in the county held by Humphrey in that year:

	£	s.	d.	
in Thornton	30	11	4	(and £20 in goods)
in Leckhampstead	6	0	0	
in Worminghall	14	0	6	
in Oakley	16	14	1	
in Stoke Hammond	9	2	0	

Both Thornton and Oakley came to the Tyrells by marriage with the Ingletons and seemingly remained in the family unchanged in their extents throughout this period of half a century. It might, therefore, be expected that the ratio of the 1522 tax assessments of these two manors would approximate to a ratio derived from their 1571 land quantities reduced to a common unit—the annual value per acre of respective types of land. Such, unfortunately, is not the case, which prevents any meaningful deductions being drawn concerning the amounts of land held in the other places in 1522.

For comparison, the estates of Humphrey Tyrell in 1522, shortly after he came into these, and those of his son, George, at his death in 1571 are set out below:

Lands	1522				1571
	£	s.	d.		
Thornton	30	11	4	..	40 land, 100 meadow, 1,200 pasture, 40 wood (6 messuages, 4 cottages, 2 mills, 3 dovecots, 7 gardens and 7 orchards)
Oakley	16	14	1	..	300 land, 10 meadow, 100 pasture, 160 wood (9 messuages, 4 cottages)
Stoke Hammond ..	9	2	0	..	——
Worminghall ..	14	0	6	..	——
Westbury		—		..	200 wood
Leckhampstead ..	6	0	0	..	40 land, 100 meadow, 100 pasture (7 messuages, 1 dovecot), Lymes end. 200 land, 80 meadow, 100 pasture, (5 messuages, 2 cottages, 3 gardens and orchards), Great Leckhampstead. 40 land, 8 meadow, 6 pasture, Nuthorp in Leckhampstead.

George Tyrell's estates

George Tyrell inherited from his mother at her death in 1557: the Manor of Thornton; land at Stoke Hammond;[18] land, probably 'Nast End', at Leckhampstead,[19] the adjacent parish to Thornton. These all came to the Ingletons, via Barton, from the Chastillon family, and although there is no mention of land at Westbury (north-west of Buckingham) in the 1522 list, 200 acres of wood shown there in 1571 must surely have also descended in the same way from the Chastillons, who are shown to have had associations with that place in earlier times.[20]

Oakley and Worminghall lands were held by the family of Fitz Ellis, whose heiress, Margery, married Thomas Billing. Their daughter, Sibyl, married George Ingleton, and was the mother of Jane, and thus these estates came, similarly, to Humphrey Tyrell by marriage. Oakley was kept in the family and later became the seat of one of its branches, but the Worminghall lands—presumably of like extent to those at Oakley by comparison with the 1522 acreages—were the subject of a series of fines from 1549 to 1555, culminating in their conveyance to Thomas Tipping of Shabbington.[21] The Stoke Hammond land was sold in 1557 to Edward Kirke of Bow

Brickhill,[18] and it might appear that George Tyrell disposed of these lands of inheritance immediately after the death of his mother. However, it must be noted that in 1557 he bought, from Thomas Pygott of Loughton, 'Lymes End in Leckhampstead',[19] and the explanation might very well be that it was desirable to increase his land holding in the adjacent parish, and the capital to acquire this came from the sale of other, more scattered, lands.

Although it is not possible to draw up any accurate credit and debit balance sheet of his land transactions, it is apparent that prior to his death in 1571 he had built up a substantial holding in Lcekhampstead—an acreage approximating to half that of his manor of Thornton; and it was upon this 'manor' that his son, Edward, built, in 1603, the house known as 'The Toy' at an estimated cost of £3,000.[22]

The depopulation and virtual disappearance of the village of Thornton is, however, laid firmly at the door of George Tyrell by an inquisition which occurs as an extraneous item contained within a Bodleian Library manuscript.[17] This enquiry, conducted on 29 May 1564, declares that in 1558 (between July and November) George enclosed and converted to pasture 1,000 acres of land at Thornton. He was said to be 'lately seised in his demesne . . . of 19 messuages, 11 cottages and 1,000 acres of land, ploughed and sown with the messuages since time out of mind . . .'. (This statement appears to bear out the supposition that he did not inherit the Thornton estate at his father's death in 1549, but after the decease of his mother in 1557, a perfectly understandable circumstance, as Jane herself owned the land in her own right by inheritance.) The inquisition goes on to record that this conversion of arable to pasture was to the detriment of 200 persons holding and working the land; and George's I.P.M. of 1571 records that by that date there were only 6 messuages and 4 cottages remaining out of a previous 30 messuages and cottages.

1571–1605. *Sir Edward Tyrrell*

Born May 1551 (from evidence of father's I.P.M.), and died 29 January 1605, being buried at Thornton on 2 February.[23] In 37 Elizabeth (*c.* 1595) he was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire as Edward Tyrrell, Esq.,[24] but in 1603 he was knighted[25] and in that year was elected M.P. for Buckingham. 'He died during his office'.[26]

He married at Thornton on 20 January 1571, Mary Lee,[23] said to be the daughter of Benedict Lee, but the register records Robert Lee as witness. Possibly her father was deceased and this was her brother. Either this date is incorrect, or it was a 'shotgun' wedding as their first child, Henry, was baptised only six weeks later on 1 March 1571, and buried on 2 April the same year.[23] They had five other children: *Edward,* eldest surviving son and heir, born 26 February 1573;[23] *Francis,* born 28 June 1574;[23] *Cassandra,* born 27 April 1576[23]—married (1) Henry Winston, (2) . . . Vaughan, and (3) . . . Herbert (V); *Maria,* born 14 December 1578[23]—married William Trye (V); *Charles,* born 18 April 1579,[23] as a result of whose birth Mary died.

Mary died the same day as Charles was born, 18 April and was buried at Thornton 19 April.[23] Edward evidently re-married within a year or two, as further children are baptised at Thornton from 1585 to 1595, but this wedding was not at Thornton, and curiously at least one child—Timothy 'of Oakley'—was not baptised there. Those

entered in the Thornton register are: *Frances,* born 3 December 1585—married Sir Edward Broughton (V); *Theodosia,* born 12 March 1586—married Edmund West of Marsworth (q.v.); *Philippa,* born 2 January 1589—married John Nourse of Chilling Place, Oxfordshire, the son of John Nourse of Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire (V); *Thomas,* born 23 January 1594, 'of Castlethorpe' (*see* Tyrells of Castlethorpe); *Bridget,* born 19 August 1595.

The visitation pedigree gives Sir Timothy of Oakley of this marriage and calls him second son of Sir Edward, and also gives a John as third son, with Francis as fourth son, omitting altogether Thomas of Castlethorpe. It is thus of no value in determining the order of birth. There seems no reason to doubt that Sir Timothy of Oakley was a son of Sir Edward of Thornton, in which case he must have been christened elsewhere and was born, possibly, between 1586 and 1594, when only one child was christened at Thornton in a period of eight years, though it is conceivable that he was born before 1585. There appears also to have been another daughter, Penelope (V), who married Captain Richard Gardner of Leatherhead,[27] mentioned as 'mistress Gardner, sister of my deceased husband' in the will of Sir Timothy's widow, 1647.[28]

Edward's second wife is given as Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Aston, in the 1634 visitation of Buckinghamshire,[29] and Browne Willis credits three sons and six daughters to the marriage, although he does not name them.[26] The authenticity of Margaret as the surviving wife appears to be guaranteed by Edward's own testamentary bequest in January 1605/6, his widow Margaret receiving an estate in Nast End, Great Leckhampstead, and Oakley Manor;[30] but Lipscomb's assertion[31] that she died in 1632 and was buried at Thornton cannot be verified from the church register, in which she would certainly have been entered if buried there.

However, there is an entry in the Thornton register at about this time which requires explanation, viz.: 'The Lady Elizabeth Tyrrell widdowe, late the wife of Sir Edward Tyrrell Kt. deceased', was buried 26 June 1631. Described in these terms, she cannot really be anyone but the widow of the first Sir Edward; it relates that she is a widow and he deceased, whereas the second Sir Edward was still living. Furthermore, Edward, the son, was a baronet four years before that date, which again indicates that this Elizabeth was the wife of the father, Sir Edward, Kt., as stated.

Now, Sir Edward's reference to his widow, Margaret, in 1605 rules out her earlier demise and his subsequent third marriage to a lady called Elizabeth, but the phrasing of the entry in the register cannot be compatible with a wife of Edward II. Such conflicting evidence can be reconciled only by postulating that the first Sir Edward's second wife possessed both names, Margaret and Elizabeth, the former that by which she was usually known, but the latter used in the burial entry. Why this should occur is entirely speculative: was Elizabeth perhaps her first Christian name, or was the clerk who made the entry confused by the two Elizabeths, wives of the second Edward? Not very convincing reasons one might think, but what other explanation can be brought forward to fit all the facts?

The achievement of arms remaining in window glass at Thornton Hall (now the Convent of Jesus and Mary) belongs to this period, and includes in its quarterings the families with which the Tyrrells of Essex had intermarried, in addition to the Ingletons of Thornton (see Plate III, 2, and section on Heraldry). The glass is said to be of Italian workmanship[32] and certainly the style of helm owes more to Renaissance Europe than English tradition. It dates from the end of the 16th

century, and it is very curious that Browne Willis makes no mention of the window in his description of Thornton Hall, referring only to . . . 'in a Bow Window of the Great Parlor, are these Arms in painted Glass'. The coat he describes is discussed later; it appears to be incorrectly recorded, as were the arms on the tomb of Robert Ingleton, but this does not explain why the Tyrrell quarterings in window glass are not recorded at all.

1605–1656. *Sir Edward Tyrrell, Kt., and First Baronet of Thornton*

Born 26 February 1573, died 2 July 1656, buried at Thornton, 3 July.[23] Knighted 1607,[33] Sheriff for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire 1613.[34] Sir Edward created a baronetcy in 1627, and in 1638 took out a second patent giving reversion to his second son, Toby. This was done, apparently, to debar his eldest son, Robert; nowhere does it appear why he should wish to do this, but perhaps Robert was 'of unsound mind'.

Sir Edward had two wives, both of whom were, confusingly, called Elisabeth. The Buckinghamshire visitation pedigree of Tyrrell[29] states that his first wife, and mother of all his children, was Elisabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Watson of Rockingham, and that he subsequently married Elisabeth Kingsmill, by whom he had no issue. On the other hand, Lipscomb[31] declares that Sir Edward's children were all born to his first wife Elisabeth Kingsmill, who died in 1621, and he states that Elisabeth Watson was buried on 26 June 1637. Rather curiously, he does not give the place of burial, but the visitation of Northamptonshire 1681 relates that 'Elisabeth the daughter of Sir Edward Watson, of Rockingham Castle, the widow of Sir John Needham of Lichborough married secondly Sir Edward Tyrrell of Thornton Bart., and was buried on 26 June 1637 at Thornton'. The Thornton church registers supply names for all the children born and baptised there to Sir Edward, but only with the last three, Toby, Francis and Mary, is his wife's name also given, though as it states only 'Elizabeth' it does not help to clarify matters. (N.B.—Neither parent is mentioned in the 1610 baptism of Edward, but his naming as 'Edwardus Tyrrell, generosus' surely signifies his status as son of the lord of the manor.) These children are as follows: *Maria,* born 21 June 1607[23]—not mentioned in visitation, *Robert,* born 14 May 1609,[23] eldest son, 'disinherited' by his father, but died in his lifetime. Buried at Thornton 20 May 1644.[23] Said to have two daughters, Dorothy and Elizabeth (V); *Edward,* born 23 April 1610[23] not mentioned in visitation, ? died 1620: 'Edward Tyrell was buried the twentieth day of March;[23] *Elizabeth,* born 7 October 1611—married 27 October 1645 at Thornton, William Saunders of Brixworth (their son, Edward, born 21 September 1646, baptised at Thornton.[23] Mentioned in will of cousin, Timothy, son of Toby, in 1675[35])—not mentioned in visitation; *Hester,* born 12 May 1613[23]—married (1) Sir Peter le Maire on 1 September 1631 at Leckhampstead, Buckinghamshire (register). He died January 1632 and she married (2) Sir Thomas Salisbury, Kt. and baronet, 22 December 1632 at Thornton. Two of their children were baptised at Thornton: Francis in October 1636, and Hester in October 1638;[23] *Dorothy* and *Jane,* twins, born 21 July 1614. Dorothy died in 1639, buried 3 July at Thornton[23]—not mentioned in visitation; *Brandon,* born 5 October 1615[23]—not mentioned in visitation, ? died young; *Toby,* born 1617, baptised 9 October[23]—the heir to Sir Edward; *Francis,* born 1619, baptised 10 August,[23] died 23 October 1669

(*see below;* Francis of Morcott); *Mary*, born 1621, baptised 10 September[23]—not mentioned in visitation—the cause of her mother's death; 'The Lady Elizabeth wife of Sr. Edward Tyrrell, Knight, was buried ye first of Septembr et ex partu mortue est'.[23]

Fortunately, the problem of the two Elizabeths can be solved. At Litchborough, near Towcester, Northamptonshire, is an altar tomb with alabaster effigy of a knight in armour to Sir John Needham, and above this a wall monument records his death as 15 November 1618. The inscription reads: 'Sr. John Needham late of Litchborough in the countie of Northampton Knight Marryed Elizabeth Watson one of the Daughters of Sr. Edward Watson of Rockingham Castle in the said countie Knight deceased. Shee erected this Monument for him the said Sr. John Nedham Anno Domini 1633 after shee was married to Sr. Edward Tyrrell of Thornton in the Countie of Buck Knight and Baronett'.

From this evidence there can be no doubt that Edward's first wife was Elizabeth Kingsmill and she was the mother of all his children recorded above. There is just one query, raised by the Visitation of Worcestershire 1634 which gives 'Thomas Good of Redmarley, 1634, J.P. co. Worcs. married Lucy, daughter of Sir Edward Tyrrell Bart. of Thornton', and shows a daughter, Mary. If there was a daughter Lucy she might have been born to Edward and the second Elizabeth, but in this case the baptism should appear in the Thornton registers. Otherwise, she would require to be a daughter of Elizabeth Kingsmill, born perhaps *c.* 1604/5, when she and Sir Edward were probably living elsewhere before moving to Thornton after his father's death in 1605. Sir Edward's will of 1656[36] refers to 'Lady Needham my late wife', so she appears to have died prior to that date. Lipscomb's pedigree gives her death as 26 June 1637, whilst Browne-Willis—who turns out to have the correct orders of wives and children—gives 26 June 1631, buried at Thornton, so conceivably the '1637' could have arisen from a copying error of the 1631 record. This particular burial was discussed under the first Edward and placed as his widow (v.s.), and further proof of the correctness of that deduction is evinced by the Litchborough monument which demonstrates that Elizabeth Needham was still alive in 1633.

Francis of Morcott

Married Frances, daughter of Sir Richard Goddard (T). In his father's will, 1656, he received lands in Lichborough and Blakesley, Northamptonshire, and the 'household stuff which blonged to the late Lady Needham'. He was mentioned in the will of his brother Toby, 1671, as 'lately deceased'. In his own will of 1670[37] he is called 'Francis Tyrrell of Morcot, Rutland, Gent.' and he refers to his 'nephew Timothy Tyrrell, youngest son of Sir Toby Tyrrell', his 'kinsman Sir Peter Tyrrell Bart.' (i.e., his cousin, the son of Sir Thomas of Castlethorpe); and brother Sir Toby Tyrrell, Bart., to be trustees of his lands in Northamptonshire until his son Charles was of age. He also mentions two daughters, Katherine and Elisabeth.

On the north wall of the chancel of St. Mary the Virgin, Morcott, is a monument erected in 1687 by these three surviving children in memory of their father, Francis,

who died on 23 October 1669 in his fifty-first year, and their mother, Frances, who survived him by nearly eighteen years, dying on 22 July 1687 in her fifty-sixth year. The inscription records that there were five children of the marriage, two other daughters, Maria and Hester, being already dead (and evidently predeceasing their father, who did not include them in his will). Frances is declared to have been the daughter of Richard Goddard of Crookham in the county of Berkshire, Gent., not a knight as suggested by the Rev. Wm. Tirrell (*v.s.*), and above the monument is a cartouche bearing the arms of Tyrrell (two chevrons a border engrailed) impailing a chevron engrailed between three crescents, evidently representing Goddard. However, although there are one or two coats listed in Papworth (*Dictionary of Coats of Arms*) with a chevron engrailed, none of these is attributable to Goddard whose arms are gules a chevron vair between three crescents argent or ermine, and associated with Wiltshire or Hampshire. The engrailed chevron at Morcott thus suggests either that Richard Goddard was using a differenced coat, not recorded, or an error by the monumental mason, the latter being rather more probable than the first.

When Francis died in 1669 his only son and heir would have been just 11 years old as he is shown to have been aged 17 in 1675 when he matriculated at Oxford.[38] He was therefore born about 1658 when his mother was aged 26, but his father 39 years old, so it looks rather as if Francis did not marry until he was in his thirties.

1656–1671. *Sir Toby Tyrrell, Second Baronet*

Baptised on 9 October 1617 at Thornton, he died on 1 October 1671, and was buried at Thornton on 7 October.[23] He asked in his will 'to be buried in the chancel at Thornton (within two days of death) as neare by my deare father as may be, without a lamp or state but privately'.[39] His request to be buried within two days of death was not fulfilled, it seems, probably because he died away from home ('at Waresley'[23]) on the Huntingdonshire/Bedfordshire/Cambridgeshire borders, at the home of his daughter, Frances Hewett.

Sir Toby married, firstly, Edith, the daughter of Sir Thomas Windebank on 1 December 1638 at St. Giles in the Fields.[40] Edward 'the sonne of Toby Tyrell Esq.' was buried at Thornton 15 June 1643,[23] and was presumably a child of Edith, who must herself have died prior to this date, as later in the same year began the series of baptisms of the children of Toby's second wife, Lucy. She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Barrington and widow of William Cheyne of Chesham Bois, Buckinghamshire, who survived Toby by 20 years. She died in 1691, aged 70, and was buried at Chesham Bois, where the ledger stone in her memory has in more recent years been moved to form a step to the sanctuary and vandalised by fixing posts through it (see Plate 26).

Browne Willis[41] states, under Thornton Hall, 'in a Bow Window of the Great Parlor, are these Arms in painted Glass, viz.: Argent, on a chevron between three pellets, as many Roses of the Field'. This window glass no longer exists, but the arms described are not applicable to anyone in the Tyrrell family of Thornton, and are those of Baldington or BABBINGTON. The most likely explanation is that they were not there at all, and what was in fact displayed was the coat of BARRINGTON. It has been pointed out above that Browne Willis could not have recorded the Ingleton tomb personally, but relied upon second-hand information. Thus, his correspondent

probably reported to him that this window carried the arms of BARRINGTON, without giving the blazon, and Browne Willis misread this for BABBINGTON and described the arms of that family.

The children of Sir Toby and Lucy Barrington were: *Thomas,* the heir of Sir Toby is not mentioned in the baptisms at Thornton, but must have been born before 1653 in which year was born the next surviving son. Looking at the dates of the other children suggests that Thomas was born possibly between 1643 and 1646, or prior to 1643, in which case he could be either Lucy's first child, or possibly born to Edith before her death. *Lucy,* baptised 12 October 1643;[23] stated in Sir Toby's will to be his eldest daughter. *Barrington,* born 6 March 1647; died 1649 and buried at Thornton 12 November.[23] *Dorothea,* baptised 27 December 1649; died 1651 and buried at Thornton 20 June.[23] *William,* baptised 29 May 1651; died 1652 and buried at Thornton 20 November.[23] *Timothy,* born 16 August 1653.[23] Will 1675[35] of 'Timothy Tyrell of Thornton Gent.' requested to be buried at Thornton 'neare to my deare father' Made bequests to 'sisters Lucy and Hester' and to 'cosin Saunders of Brixworth, Northants. £20 owed for Diett whilst I lived with him' He died 4 June 1674 and was buried at Thornton on 6 June.[23] *Hester,* baptised 5 May 1656.[23] Mentioned in wills of father, Sir Toby, and brother Timothy. *Frances,* not mentioned in the Thornton register, but the evidence for her as another daughter is quite acceptable, although some of the statements are incorrect. Browne Willis and Lipscomb both record Frances as the daughter of Sir Toby by his first wife, Edith Windebank, but Sir Toby specifically refers in his will to Lucy as his eldest daughter and her baptismal entry in 1643 declares her to be the daughter of Lucy, Sir Toby's second wife.[23] Frances must, therefore, have been born subsequent to this and be another daughter of Lucy; her birth presumably falling between 1643 and 1647.

In the will of her grandfather, Sir Edward, in 1656, she is Frances Tyrell,[38] but some time between then and 1671, in which year Sir Toby died, and referred in his will to 'my daughter the lady Hyett',[39] she was married to Sir John Hewett of Waresley in the county of Huntingdon, Bart., according to Browne Willis and Lipscomb. Frances could not have been any older than 27 at the outside in 1671, so it is quite conceivable that she did subsequently have a second husband, Philip Cotton, Esq., as related by Lipscomb. It may be significant in this context to note that Sir Toby appointed as one of the executors of his will 'nephew Sir Robert Cotton of Cheshire, Kt.'.

The bequests in Sir Toby's will, after repaying debts of £1,000 outstanding, were to his family: his wearing apparel and 'the best diamond ring she can choose' for his wife; 'all the deer in my park, and all stones and items etc. belonging to water-mills', to his eldest son, Thomas, his heir at Thornton. '£10 for a ring' was awarded to each of the two executors, and this also was the bequest to 'my sister the lady Salisbury' and 'my daughter the lady Hyett'. In fact, tokens of remembrance. The other surviving son, Timothy, received 'all the books, £100 at age 18' [he would have attained this age about two months after his father's death], and £1,000 settled on him'. Hester the 'youngest daughter', then aged 15, was left 'a fair necklace of two rows of pearls, and £1,200 for her portion in Mr. Anthony Chester's lands upon mortgage', while 'all else to the use of my eldest daughter Lucy Tyrell for her portion—viz. all the monies made of the personal estate, the legacies etc.'.

Such legacies to younger children in a large family could prove crippling and even disastrous to the estate. This was clearly recognised by Timothy who, dying only

four years after his father, ordered in his will that 'whereas the Manor of Thornton stands charged with £1,000 to be raised for my portion, and I intend to free the burden—I bequeath to my brother Sir Thomas Tyrell £1,000 to discharge the premises from debt'.[35]

1671–1705. *Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Third Baronet*

Born *c.* 1640–46; died 10 October 1705, and was buried at Thornton 'ye Sunday following'.[23] Matriculated 1660.[37] He married Frances, the daughter of Sir Henry Blount of Tittenhanger, Hertfordshire, who died on 7 June 1699 and was buried at Thornton 11 June.[23] They probably married in 1665, as Sir Toby's will refers to an Indenture Quinquepartite of February that year which includes Thomas, the son and heir, and Sir Henry Blount. This document,[42] dated 6 February 1665, records that 'a marriage is soon to take place' between Frances, the only daughter of Sir Henry Blount and Thomas Tyrell, whereby in consideration of a marriage portion of £4,000 paid by Sir Henry Blount to Sir Toby Tyrell, the latter 'conveys' ['or mortgages'] the Manor of Thornton. They had 'six sons and four daughters' (T), but only three sons appear in the Thornton register; the other three are said to be John and Timothy (T), and Charles (*see below*).

Harry or Henry, the heir. Not christened, but buried, at Thorngon;[23] and is confirmed as 'the first son of Sir Thomas by Dame Frances his wife' in an extant deed.[43] *Charles,* ? died 1728 (T), father of Thomas who claimed as eighth baronet, Elisabeth, the wife of the Hon. John Forester and Frances.[44] *Hester,* who married, 29 October 1687 at Thornton, Mr. John Shepherd of Lidcote, by licence.[23] Their second child was christened Frances Philadelphia, suggesting sympathy if not family connections with the settlers in Pennsylvania. Thomas Shepherd, their youngest son, was baptised at Stewkley in 1702 and buried there in 1763. He married three times, in 1734, 1741, and 1744, and by Frances, his third wife, he had Thomas, baptised at Stewkley in 1746, who married, in 1774, Elisabeth Cotton, the grand-daughter of Charles Tyrell the last baronet of Thornton. *Thomas,* died 1675, buried 12 January at Thornton.[23] *Penelope,* born 5 December 1679; died 1694 and buried at Thornton on 1 March.[23] The register records receipt of the affidavit of her 'buryall in Woollen'. (It was enacted in 1666 that bodies must have a woollen shroud instead of linen, as a move to help the wool weavers on the one hand, and the paper trade on the other, as best paper was made from linen rags. This law was frequently not observed, and gradually fell completely into disuse, being finally repealed in 1863.) *Anne,* born 21 June 1681; died 1694, buried 1 May at Thornton.[23] *Thomas,* born 29 December 1682; died 27 February 1706 and buried at Thornton on 1 March.[23] *Elisabeth,* born 15 May 1686.[23]

1705–1708. *Sir Harry Tyrell, Fourth Baronet*

Born ? mid-1660s; died 6 November 1708, buried 10 November at Thornton.[23] The register refers to him as 'Harry' in all instances, as do existing deeds. He married Hester, the daughter of Charles Blount, Esq., and niece of his mother, Frances, about the end of 1692 (marriage settlement dated 21 October 1692);[45] Thomas, their eldest child was born in 1693. (A younger brother of Hester was, it seems, born at Thornton in 1681 when the register records 'Charles ye son of Charles Blount Esq. and of Elenor

his wife was born 12 Sept. and Bapt. 14 Sept.').[23] Hester died in 1752 and was buried at Thornton on 11 May.[23] They had five children: two daughters, Frances, born 10 October 1699, married Thomas Vernon; Penelope, born 6 December 1702, married Charles Bentley, and their daughter, Penelope, was baptised at Thornton in 1723;[23] and three sons, successively baronets of Thornton.

1708–1718. *Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Fifth Baronet*

The eldest son of Sir Harry, he was born 29 September 1693 'about a quarter of an hour afore noon'.[23] Matriculated at Oxford 1710/11.[37] Died 25 December 1718, and buried 1 January 1719 at Thornton.[23] No issue.

1718–1720. *Sir Harry Tyrrell, Sixth Baronet*

The second son of Sir Harry; born 8 November 1695. Matriculated at Oxford 1711.[37] Died 7 November 1720 and buried 12 November at Thornton.[23] No issue.

1720–1748. *Sir Charles Tyrrell, Seventh Baronet*

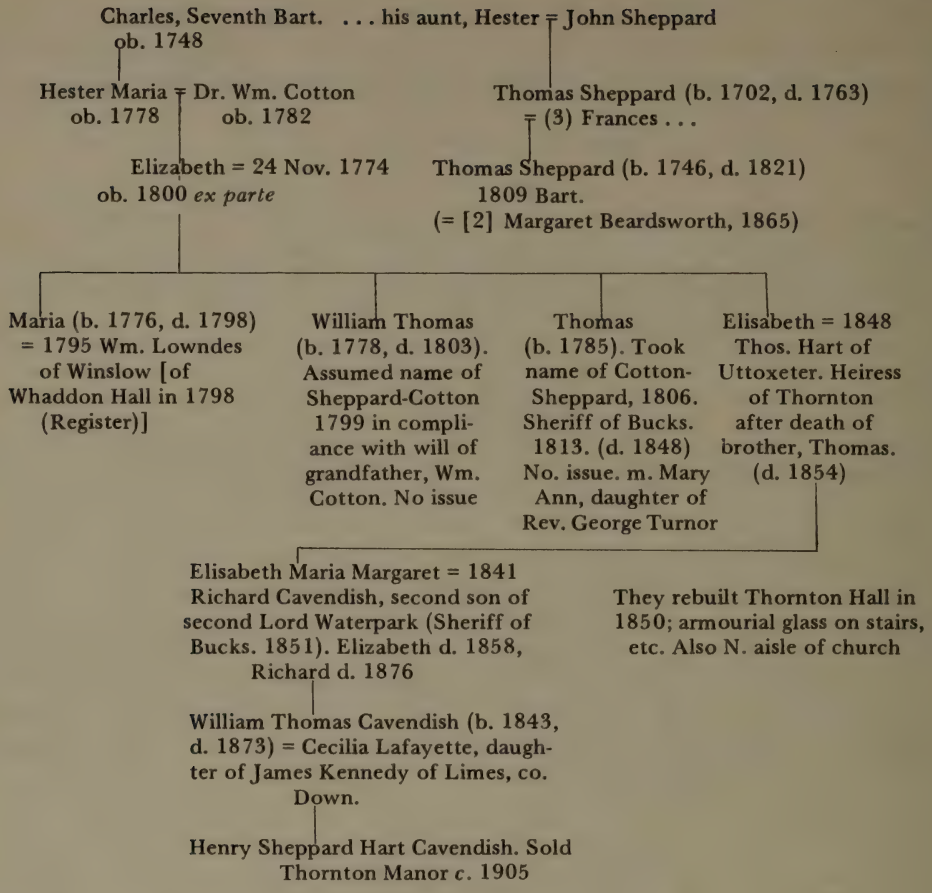
The third son of Sir Harry; born 1708. Said to be posthumous son. Died 1748, and buried 28 January at Thornton.[23] He married, in 1726, Jane Elisabeth Sellon of Geneva, by whom he is said to have had two sons, who both died young, James, 1727–29, and Henry, 1728–29,[40] and one daughter, Hester Maria, the family heiress who married the Rev. Dr. William Cotton. Hester died in 1778 and was buried at Thornton on 3 October.[23] Cotton died in 1782. Their daughter and heiress, Elisabeth, married Thomas Sheppard of Littlecote.

1748–1755. *Sir Thomas, Tyrrell, ? Eighth Baronet*

The baronetcy is stated to have become extinct after the death of Charles, but his cousin, Thomas—the son of Charles, the brother of the first Sir Harry—was the family heir at Thornton, and was buried there in 1755. The register refers to him as Sir Thomas Tyrell, Bart., and the memorial placed on the church wall by his sister, Elisabeth Forrester, states 'In memory of Sir Thomas Tyrrell Bart.'. It is said that he claimed the title but was not recognised by the college of Heralds (T), though it is difficult to understand why this should be unless there was some doubt of his paternity. He is given as 'Thomas Tyrrell Esq. created Bart.' by Lipscomb,[46] but Burke, *General Armory* (1884), and G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, 1902, both state the Thornton baronetcy became extinct in 1749.

Confirmation that Thomas was not considered by the county to be the next baronet in 1749 is found in a letter from Henry Purefoy of Shalstone to Thomas Sheppard (the elder) his attorney, concerning his swearing in as Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, for which he appeared to need, or desire, a baronet: 'and as to the Bart. you may chuse him yourself for now Sir Charles Tyrrell is dead I don't know of any one of that Rank near us'.[47]

The Manor of Thornton continued until the end of the 19th century in the female descendants of the Tyrells, thus:



The Thornton Vault

The Tyrells of Thornton were mostly interred in the family vault under the chancel or chantry chapel; Sir Toby in 1671 referred in his will to being buried 'in the chauncel at Thornton as neare to my deare father as may be', and his son, Timothy, made a similar request in 1674. Frances, the wife of Harry of Whaddon Chase was 'Buried in Barton's Isle'[23] in 1668, and Harry himself, in 1704, 'was buried in this Church in ye place by ye Chanucell called Barton's Isle above ye vault'. When the chancel and chantry were demolished by Thomas Sheppard he built a new vault on the north side of the church (covered by the newly-constructed north aisle in 1850) in which is set a stone bearing the inscription 'This vault was built by order of Thomas Sheppard, 1784'. The entrance to this vault is by steep steps under the north side of the east end of the church, the opening being covered by a heavy slab and obscured by several inches of earth. The Tyrrells were all moved into this new vault, the complete coffins being stacked up on top of each other at the far end with next to them a small brick retaining wall behind which were placed the other remains. In 1965 this was a mound of mouldering wood, metal coffin furniture and bones. The remainder of the vault is taken up by the coffins of the Sheppard family (see plan below):

1. Leigh Smith, d. 16 March 1827, aged 68 years. Possibly brother of Frances, third wife of Thomas Sheppard, senior.

2. Thomas Sheppard, Bart., d. 21 November 1821, aged 75 years.

3. Elisabeth Sheppard, his wife, d. 27 September 1800, aged 42 years.

4. Charles Sheppard, their son, d. 25 July 1801, aged three years.

5. W. T. Sheppard Cotton, Esq., d. 21 April 1803, aged . . . (not legible), son of Thomas and Elisabeth.

6. Maria Lowndes, d. 14 December 1798, aged . . . Daughter of Thomas and Elisabeth.

7. Rev. George Turnor, d. 5 October 1825, aged sixty-five. Father of Mary Ann, the wife of Sir Thomas Cotton Sheppard, Bart. (*see* No. 11).

8. Ann Eleanora Turnor, d. 22 February 1845, aged eighty-two. Wife of Rev. George.

9. Sarah Gurney, d. 20 March 1809. ?

10. Dame Mary Ann, wife of No. 11. Died 26 September 1872, in eightieth year.

11. Sir Thomas Cotton Sheppard, Bart., d. 5 April 1848. aged 63 years.

The two piles of Tyrrell coffins are as follows:

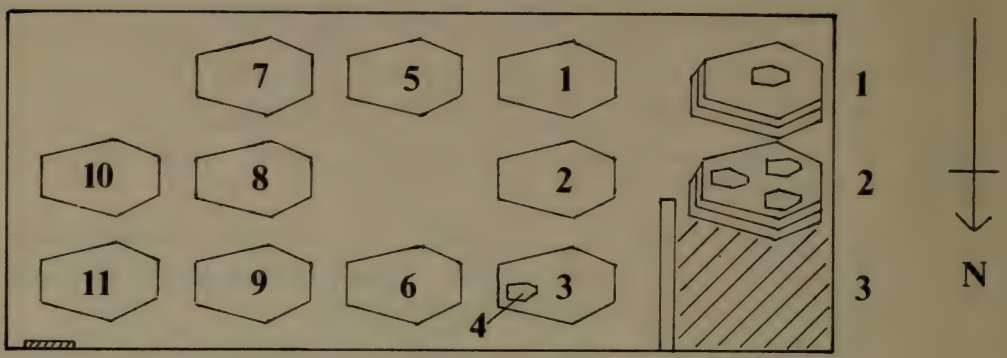
1. Three adult containers of lead, and on top a wooden one of a small baby. The only one with any visible marking is the topmost adult one which has a brass plate fixed on the side at its foot end, with the inscription' 'Sir Charles Tyrrell Bart. Died Jan. 20 1748 Aged 40'.

2. Three adult lead containers, and on top three wooden coffins of children, with brass studding and traces of a leather covering. These latter were split open and showed inside a few fragments of cloth, and one or two light green metal spicules, presumably the remains of shroud pins. As the bodies were of small children the skeletons would have been largely cartilage, and this has decomposed to leave practically no trace. The uppermost large coffin still has its outer brass-studded wooden container more or less intact, with fragments of its original leather covering. None in this pile has any discoverable inscription.

3. In the corner, contained by pile 2 and a three-foot high single brick wall is all that remains of the other Tyrrell interments.

It is said by local Tyrrell descendants that the memorials in the church to the Tyrells were torn down and thrown into the river when the building was altered by Thomas Sheppard. Although other monuments in the church undoubtedly were destroyed at this time, there evidently were none concerning the lords of Thornton, as is clearly demonstrated by the detailed account of the church in 1735, that is before it was 'modernised', given by Browne Willis, who wrote: 'not the least memorial for any one . . .' of the Tyrrell family interred in the vault; 'vix.: no less than 6 baronets, and some of their Ladies and Children, of above 30 of whose Interments we have an Account of from George Tyrrill's Time, Anno 1570'.[48]

PLAN OF THORNTON VAULT



Inscription Wall

THE WESTS OF MARSWORTH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Nicholas West = Johanna . . .
ob. 21 June 1586 ob. 19 October 1585

William bur. 15 July 1583

Edmund bur. 12 September 1618 = (1) Mary Clare. ob. 1606 (2) Theodosia Tyrrell (= [2] Gregory Pratt)

Edmund = Anne . . . bp. 24 March 1608 ob. ? 1682/3

Mary bp. 9 February 1609

Penelope bp. 6 January 1610, bur. 17 August 1630

Elisabeth bp. 12 January 1611. ob. 8 June 1677. m. John Barker

Frances bp. 20 January 1613. bur. 5 October 1640

Bridget bp. 9 January 1616. ob. 4 September 1692 'in 76th yr.'

Edmund, Sgt. at Law. b.c. 1630. ob. Feb. 1681/2, in 51st year m. Sarah Croke of Chilton, Bucks.

Elisabeth bp. 9 October 1634

Henry bp. 26 March 1636

Theodosia bp. 18 March 1637

Jeremy bp. 10 October 1638

Anna bp. 13 December 1639

Roger b. 1648 ob. 4 April 1700 in 52nd year m. 1698 Eleanor Knatchbull (ob. *c.* 1699)

Bridget b. 1680. ob. 1680

daughter b. 1699. ob. 1699

Theodosia, the daughter of Sir Edward Tyrrell of Thornton, married Edmund West of Marsworth, probably in 1607; his first wife died in 1606 and Theodosia's first child was baptised in March 1608. An elaborate altar tomb at Marsworth, the work of Epiphanius Evesham, bears among other carvings that of the arms of West impaling Tyrrell.

The earliest monument to a member of the West family in this church is the floor slab to Nicholas, who obtained the title to Marsworth in 1565,[49] and who died in 1586. Much of the brass inlay of his memorial stone is missing, but the remains include a shield of arms of West impaling about ten quartered coats. This is worn and difficult to decipher, but one of these quarterings appears to be Tyrrell. If this is so, it would argue for an earlier connection between the families of Tyrrell and West, though the Tyrrell quartering could conceivably have been brought in by some other family with whom the Wests had intermarried. (*see* Heraldry section).

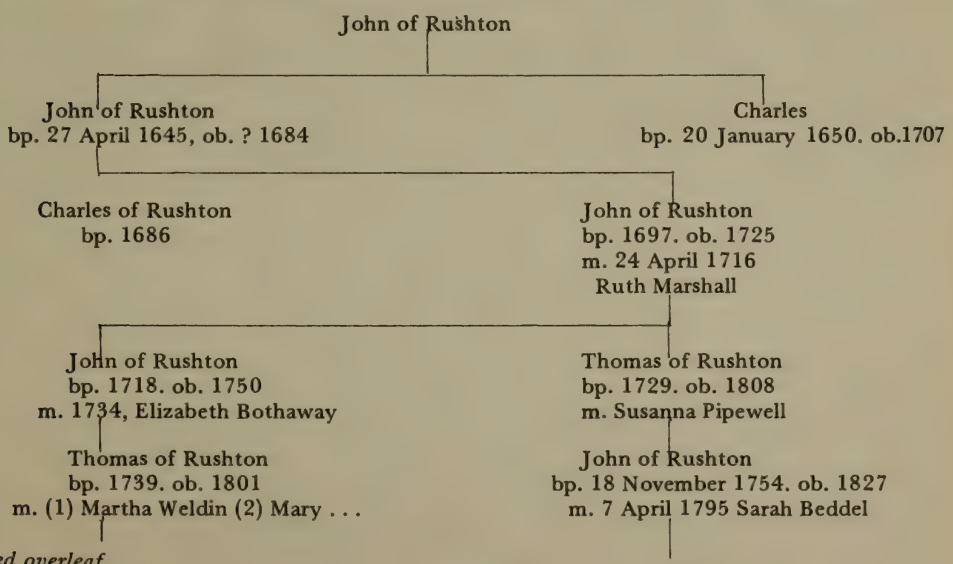
* * * * *

TYRRELLS OF RUSHTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

(according to Rev. William Tyrrell)

Thomas Tyrrell of Rushton, 'filius spurius ut dictus' of George Tyrrell of Thornton, was allowed by the College of Arms in 1583 the family arms debruised with a bendlet sinister, viz.: quarterly of six 1. Tyrrell, 2. Borgate, 3. Flambard, 4. Bruin, 5. Rokele, 6. Tyrrell, over all a bendlet sinister, argent, vert and sable, and a mollet gules on a crescent or in Borgate for difference; the crest with a black bar sinister and a crescent or in a mollet gules for difference.

He married Elisabeth, daughter of Lawrence Swettenham of Cheshire. Their son:



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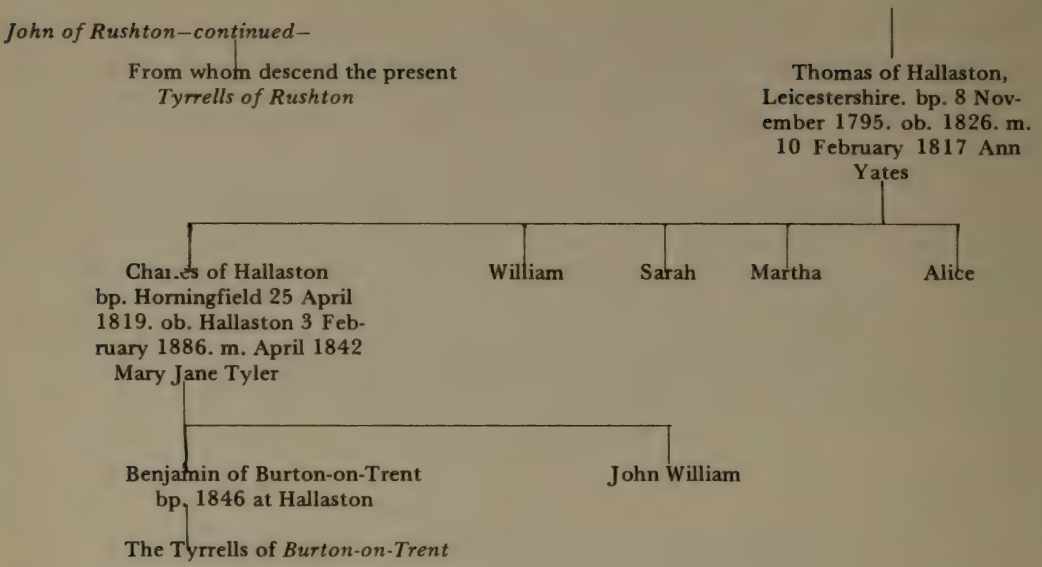


Thornton Hall

In the early part of the 20th century the name 'Thornton Hall' was transferred to the former Tyrellcote Farm when the old manor house was sold to become the Convent of Jesus and Mary, a girl's boarding school. For perhaps five hundred years prior to this, the lords of the manor of Thornton had dwelt in the old hall, which, like many another building of similar age, had been altered and enlarged on several occasions. Documentary evidence of these changes is virtually non-existent, but the available descriptions, augmented by a few surviving plans and drawings, make it possible to delineate some part of the building's evolution.

The present-day façade dates from the mid-19th century, when, according to Sheahan,[50] the hall 'was rebuilt in 1850, by the Hon. R. Cavendish (whose seat it is), and encloses a part of the old house'. Plates 20 and 22 are fortuitiously surviving architect's impression and ground plan respectively of this reconstruction: the former hangs as a framed picture in the Convent School, and the latter is among the papers of the descendants of the last owner, Colonel Harris, who sold the Manor house in 1917.

It will be noted that the plan has been annotated 'printed 1856', which poses the following alternatives: Is this an error by a later hand, was the plan printed and published after the re-building, or was the work begun in 1856 and not in 1850 as stated by Sheahan? The third possibility would, on the face of it, seem unlikely, with Sheahan writing only a few years afterwards (1862), but, nevertheless, there is evidence suggesting a date later than the 1850 he gives; Plate 21 shows the 'ancient Dining Hall as restored by Cavendish', and in the course of panelling and painting the roof of this room the workmen recorded their names together with the date, 'G. N. Lohmeyer 1857' and 'John Miller Grainger April 13th, 1857'.

Sheahan's description of 1862, partly quoted above, also states: 'the ancient Mansion of the Lords of the Manor was a quadrangular building of great antiquity, but modernised by Dr. Cotton', and this is borne out by Lipscomb[51] writing in the

1840s prior to the Cavendish conversion, who relates 'The building was modernised by the late Dr. Cotton, during his residence here; and it has the appearance of a spacious and respectable Mansion, without much pretensions to elegance; but contains a large collection of valuable portraits'.

The Rev. William Cotton, who married Hester Maria, the Tyrell heiress, became possessed of Thornton in 1755 at the death of Thomas Tyrell, Bart., subsequently holding it in right of his wife until she died in 1778, and so the 'modernisation' must have occurred between these dates. Plates 18 and 19 show the front and rear of this building: dated 1848, these painting were discovered a few years ago by an old pupil of Thornton school in a London shop, and subsequently bought by the Convent, where they now hang.

Browne Willis, the first Buckinghamshire historian, recorded Thornton in 1735: 'The seat of this antient Family [Tyrell] is of great Antiquity, viz: about 500 Years standing: It is a large House, quadrangled round, and has several spacious Rooms in it, and a noble Gallery, the Length of which being one side of the House, is no less than 135 Foot'.[52] Lipscomb, repeating this description, remarks 'Willis mentions a fine Gallery 125 feet long'. It is apparent from this note that the Gallery was no longer in existence in Lipscomb's time; thus the 125 feet must be a copying error and not a corrected measurement of the gallery, which evidently disappeared during Dr. Cotton's modernisation.

Plate 22, of the 1850 conversion, differentiated between the newly-built and renovated section, and the older parts of the building which were then remaining, and also indicates the line of a previous frontage, though there is no way of telling from this whether the 'old front line' was created by Dr. Cotton, or belonged to the more ancient house, nor to which period the older parts of the building were attributable.

Plate 23 is taken from a traced plan of the building in the possession of the Convent of Jesus and Mary, said to have been made about thirty years ago (i.e., *c.* 1950), but it has not been possible to locate the original. This is undated, but must be no earlier than 1850 and, in fact, be slightly later judging from the internal evidence. The staircase in the central hall was, in the event, constructed differently from the 1850 plan, as shown on this later one, but more significantly, the cloakroom labelled P and Q in 1850 was evidently built and later removed, since the blocked-up doorway can still be seen on the outer wall in what is shown as 'open court' on the undated plan, which must therefore post-date this removal whenever that took place. The rooms are named according to their usage, which is clearly not the same as on the earlier plan: although the key to the latter is missing, the four rooms, M, L, M and L in the new south wing cannot equate with billards room, dressing room, bedroom and bedroom respectively!

Shown at the north end of this plan are the few outbuildings which in fact line up with the 'old front line' and add verisimilitude to this seemingly improbable direction. Why should this be set at an angle to, instead of squared with, the other three sides of the building? The long gallery of 135ft., 'being one side of the House', could only be on the east frontage as none of the other sides are of sufficient length, and strangely enough this measurement is the exact length of the later front wing as drawn. Perhaps this indicates that Dr. Cotton and subsequently Richard Cavendish replaced the frontage to its original length, but does not suggest any explanation

of why it should have previously been angled to the remainder of the buildings, and this remains a mystery.

The key to this later plan purports to show the building dates as 1850, 1755 and 13th-century: of these, the first two are acceptable from the evidence already adduced, but 'thirteenth century' is probably somewhat imaginative for such considerable remains as shown, and undoubtedly arises from a literal reading of Browne Willis whose suggestion must be viewed with caution.

Assuming the accuracy of the later, undated, plan with regard to the 1755 parts of the building, it can be assumed that the 'thirteenth century part' represents all that remains of any earlier structures, but it then becomes difficult to determine the period in time when these came into being. The buildings forming three sides of the original square shape are of old stone construction and still retain late medieval roofing timbers, but there remains no visible evidence whereby a date earlier than, say, 15th century could be derived. It would seem, also, that the quadrangled house with additional outbuildings at the north end is too extensive to be as early as 13th century, at which time manor houses were very much more modest, in the majority of cases being little more than a 'hall house'.

A further complication lies in the discovery, south of the church, of the remains of a building of 13th- and 14th-century dates, interpreted as a kitchen which 'must have been connected in some way with a whole complex of buildings, including, presumably, a large house'.[53] If the interpretation of the finds is correct, and it is difficult to imagine a satisfactory alternative explanation, then this must have been the manor house of Thornton. However, as the pottery fragments are 13th and 14th century, a theory that this house was replaced by a new and larger one in the 15th century seems quite tenable, and the historical facts concerning the ownership of Thornton are consistent with this.

The first lords of the manor actually to reside at Thornton, and probably responsible for building a manor house, were, it seems, the Chastillon family, in the mid-13th century; a younger branch, apparently, of those already living in the adjacent parish of Leckhampstead—and subsequently found here until the end of the 14th century.

In 1344 John Chastillon was granted a licence to have an oratory in his house at Thornton[54]—clear evidence of the existence of a manor house at that time—and a priest was subsequently appointed to serve this. Thornton church was largely rebuilt in the 14th century—the remaining parts are all of this date—and it would seem probable that this same John Chastillon was responsible.

In 1418 the manor passed to John Barton, who is said to have rebuilt the north chancel of the church,[55] and who bequeathed, in 1433/4, an endowment for the renewing of the chantry. This evidently came into being in 1468 by the exertions of Robert Ingleton, Chancellor of the Exchequer to Edward IV, who had acquired Thornton some five or six years previously.

Both foundations are referred to at the Dissolution, each with a separate priest, and in 1535 William Abbott, serving the later, Ingleton, foundation, brought an action against Humphrey Tyrell, who had in 1530, 'ejected Abbott from a house nigh adjoining the parish church which had belonged to the chantry from its first foundation, and so hampered the chaplain from fulfilling his duty to six poor men and women and six children'. It was said that Tyrell had suffered the tenement to

'fall and be in extreme rewen and dekaye', and had carried away the doors and windows.[56] This statement receives confirmation from the chantry return of 1546 which states that Humphrey Tyrell was at that time in possession of a 'mansion house' belonging to the chantry.[57]

The use of the word 'mansion house' suggests a dwelling of far more significant proportions than the cottage hovel which would be the usual habitat of the parish priest, and in 16th-century writings 'mansion house' almost invariably meant 'manor house'. Herein, therefore, is very circumstantial evidence for the chantry house being the old manor house, and if it has 'belonged to the chantry from its first foundation' this would be in perfect agreement with a 15th-century manor replacement. But by whom, John Barton or Robert Ingleton?

John Barton is said to have rebuilt the north aisle and he erected effigies to himself and his wife in the church, so he could well be imagined to have built a new manor house. On the other hand, although he 'founded a second chantry', Barton's part in this was confined to the idea and the endowment, while the execution of the project was carried out by Robert Ingleton over thirty years later. Robert, as Chancellor of the Exchequer to Edward IV, was a well-to-do and important man who would doubtless require a house of some size, and a dining hall of ample proportions to entertain on the grand scale, so that on these grounds alone he would appear to be the more likely candidate to have built a new manor house.

Furthermore, the house 'nigh adjoining the parish church', elsewhere described as a mansion house, 'which had belonged to the chantry from its first foundation' must surely be the earlier manor house assigned to the priest when the second foundation became operative; that is to say, with Robert Ingleton in 1468. Thus, although the paucity of facts allows only for speculation rather than certainty, there is a reasonable theory that a new and larger manor house was built at Thornton, seemingly by Robert Ingleton in the 1460s, to replace the earlier one built by the first Chastillon lord of the manor, *c.* 1260, and the suggested chronology for buildings and alterations would be:

Richard Chastillon builds first manor house (*c.* 1260).
Robert Ingleton builds new manor house (*c.* 1460).
William Cotton enlarges second manor house (*c.* 1760).
Richard Cavendish alters and enlarges house (*c.* 1850/60).

* * * * *

THE TYRELLS OF OAKLEY

Oakley was part of the Ingleton estates in Buckinghamshire brought in marriage by Jane to Humphrey Tyrell, and subsequently held by their descendants at Thornton, and so it is interesting to note that in 1413, a century before this marriage, a John Tyrell was one of four feoffees of lands at Oakley in trust for John, the wife of John Fitz Elias of that place. This must be John Tyrell of Heron, who is the only recorded contemporary of that name.

It has been noticed previously that Fitz Ellis was one of the families whose marriage connection with the Ingletons was commemorated on the tomb chest of Sir Robert

Ingleton at Thornton, so here would be a link between the families of Tyrell and Ingleton, and a factor in bringing about the union of Humphrey and Jane.

Oakley also suggests itself as a factor in the marriage of Sir John Tyrell of Heron and Elizabeth Croke of Chilton at the end of the 16th century (*see* Tyrells of Heron). The two manors of Oakley and Chilton are adjacent to each other, while the Crokes of Chilton held land in Oakley parish, so it is inevitable that the families of Croke and Tyrell were acquainted. When Sir John of Heron lost his first wife, what would be more natural than for his relative, Sir Edward at Thornton, to introduce him to Sir John Croke's marriageable daughter?

The Manor of Oakley was left by Sir Edward of Thornton in 1605 to his widow and remainder to Sir Timothy, who also became possessed of Shotover Manor about 1613. Sir Timothy 'of Shotover and Oakley' appears to have resided at the Shotover Manor House, but elected to be buried at Thornton, his place of birth. His son, the second Sir Timothy, is said to be 'frequently resident at the new house at Shotover', but there is no reference to his being at Oakley at other times; he was buried at Oakley, however. The next heir, James, is usually described as 'of Oakley', and evidently lived there in his younger days as it is noted that 'in later life he resided at Shotover . . .'. Neither of these houses is in existence today: at Oakley, according to the *Victoria County History*, 'the Manor Farm with its remains of a moat is probably on the site of the capital messuage of the 17th and 18th centuries'. The house at Shotover was evidently completely rebuilt in the 18th century, and only a few outbuildings remain from the time of the Tyrells.

The First Sir Timothy

Sir Timothy Tyrrell of Shotover, Oxfordshire, and Oakley, Buckinghamshire, was a son of Sir Edward Tyrrell, Kt., of Thornton. He was probably born about 1584, but his baptism is not recorded in the Thornton register. He matriculated at Oxford in 1594, when his age is given as 10 years, and was B.A. 1602.[1] He died in 1632 and was buried on 18 December at Thornton.[2]

The bailiwick and manor of Shotover were granted to Timothy Tyrrell about 1613, and his family held the office until the disafforestation under Charles II. The traditional story is that Timothy as Master of the buck-hounds to the Prince of Wales had been wounded while holding a buck's head for the prince to sever, and had obtained this bailiwick and the Derehyde as reward.[3] The grant was confirmed by James I and by Charles I, who extended it for the lifetime of Sir Timothy's son, Timothy the younger.[4] An entry in the Thornton register in 1671 is evidently to a retainer of this family: 'Thomas Otley alias Cracks, who had served three Kings of England, Kg. James, Kg. Charles ye 1: and ye 2nd: as huntsman with their Buckhounds, departed this life on Tuesday morning April ye 18th, & was buryed on Wednesday April the 19th. Ano Salutis. 1671'.[2]

Shotover House, Timothy's residence, is said to have been rebuilt by him and his son, Timothy the younger.[5] In 1624 Charles I stayed there and knighted his host, the elder Timothy.[6]

He married Elinor, the daughter of Sir William Kingsmill of Sidmanton, Hampshire, on 22 August 1613 at Marsworth, the home of his sister, Theodosia, the wife of

Edmund West (*see* Wests of Marsworth). She died in 1647, her will describing her as 'of Thornton'. Their children were: *Sir Timothy,* eldest son and heir; *Elinor,* ob. 1671, aged 56, buried at Stantonbury, Buckinghamshire. The wife of Sir Peter Temple of Stantonbury, by whom she had three sons, John, Timothy, and Henry, and a daughter, Elinor. Married (2) Richard Grenville of Wotton (B) ?; *Charles* of Hanslope, ob. 1694, aged 68, buried at Stantonbury. His will[7] mentions no wife or children; *Harry* of Whaddon Chase. So called in Thornton register when buried 6 May 1704,[2] but referred to as 'son Henry' and 'brother Henry' in wills of his mother and brother Charles, respectively. Married (1) Frances . . ., who died 1668, buried 31 December, Thornton[2]; (2) Catherine, daughter of Sir John Thompson of Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire (B). She died 1714, and was buried at Thornton on 21 March.[2] Harry had two daughters, Katherine and Elinor, beneficiaries in the will of their uncle, Charles; *Mary,* married 24 April 1647 at Thornton Sir Walter Pye, Kt.[2] Referred to in will of brother, Charles, 1694, as 'lady Mary Pye, widow'.

Burke also gives: Bridget, ob. inupt., and William, killed in the Civil Wars at Chester in 1644.

1632–1701. *Sir Timothy II,* of Oakley and Shotover. Born *c.* 1617, died 1701, aged about 84, buried at Oakley.

Was of the Privy Chamber to Charles I, a colonel in the Royal Army, Governor of Cardiff, and general of Ordnance under Lord Gerard. Rated by the sequestrators at £750 for his estate (B). He was knighted at Oxford 24 September 1643.[8]

Timothy was frequently resident at the new house in Shotover, and in 1640 he was ordered to seek out all in the neighbourhood who had greyhounds, mongrels, hand-guns, crossbows, nets, traps or other engines to destroy deer.[9]

Shotover House was said to need repair again in 1640; a survey of 1660 mentions two piles of buildings as the work of the father and son, and Sir Timothy the younger stated in 1665 that he had spent nearly £2,000 on building and enclosures.[10] The grounds, if not the dinner, met with the approval of John Evelyn, who visited here in 1664 and wrote in his diary, under 24 October 1664, 'We dined at Sir Timothy Tyrill's at Shotover. There is here in the grove a fountain of the coldest water I ever felt, and very clear. His plantation of oaks and other timber is very commendable'. Evelyn returned to Shotover 11 years later, but made no comment on the house or the garden at that time; under 8 July 1675 he wrote '. . . Next day, dining at Shotover, at Sir Timothy Tyrell's a sweet place, we lay at Oxford . . .'.

Sir Timothy married Elisabeth, the daughter of James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, a celebrated theologian whose computation of Old Testament dates went so far as to determine the creation of the world in 4004 B.C., which date still appears in the Authorised Version of the Bible. Elisabeth died in 1693, 'after more than 50 years marriage', and was buried at Oakley. Their children are given as (B): *James,* the heir; *Charles,* 'died unmarried in Ireland' (T). A Charles Tyrell, Esq., was buried 9 December 1665 in Dublin,[11] but the arms ascribed to him: Argent, 2 chevrons sable, a border engrailed of the last, are curious. Either they are wrongly entered for this man, or else he was of some quite different family. (*See* section on Heraldry); *John,* captain of a man-of-war, born 1646, died 1692, buried at Oakley; *Usher,* settled in Jamaica and married a daughter of Van Tromp;

Margaret, died 1686, buried at Oakley, where the memorial tablet states she was the seventh daughter of Sir Timothy; *Elisabeth*, married Philip, fourth son of Peregrine Holy, Esq., of Bisham, Berkshire; *Mary*, married Henry Cavendish, Esq., of Dovebridge, Derbyshire; *Penelope*, married Sir James Russell, Kt., of the Island of Nevis; *Eleanor*, married Charles, second surviving son of Sir Charles Blount of Titenhanger. A son, Charles, born 12 September 1681 was baptised at Thornton 14 September (*see* Sir Harry, fourth Bart.); *Bridget*, married Samuel Byrch, Esq., of Whitborne, Hertfordshire; and two others.

1701–1718. *James of Oakley*. Born 1643, 'died 1718 aged 75 upwards' according to the wall tablet erected in 1745. But 'died 7 June 1719 in the 87th. yr. of his age' according to the floor slab. Born 5 May 1642, died 1718 according to *Dictionary of National Biography*.

He was apparently born in Great Queen Street in the Parish of St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, and educated in the free school at Camberwell, Surrey. 'Among the few persons who acquired any literary eminence under the old regime at this seminary was James Tyrrell, eldest son of Sir Timothy Tyrrell, Bart., and Elizabeth, his wife, the only daughter of Archbishop Ussher'.[12] [Note.—Sir Timothy was *not* a baronet.] James was admitted a student at Gray's Inn on 7 January 1655–6, matriculated from Queen's College, Oxford, on 15 January 1657, and was created M.A. on 28 September 1663. He was called to the bar in 1666, but made no profession of the common law. He subsequently retired to his estates at Oakley and became a deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace for Buckinghamshire until deprived by James II in 1687 for refusing to support the declaration of indulgence. From about 1680 James, an intimate friend of John Locke, the philosopher, spent his time in writing on political philosophy and history, In later life he resided at Shotover to be nearer the libraries At Oxford, and was engaged on a 'General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil' which he intended to bring down to the reign of William III. However, at the time of his death he had issued only three volumes folio which appeared between 1696 and 1704, and carried the work to the death of Richard II. He died at Shotover on 7 June 1718.[13] (Plate 30.)

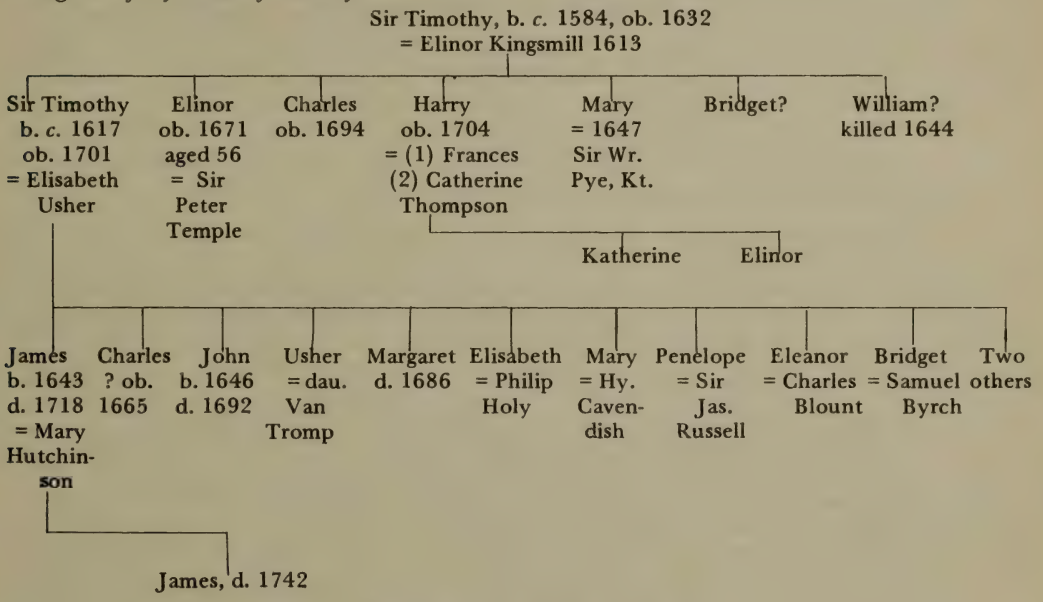
James married Mary, the daughter of Sir Michael Hutchinson of Fladbury, Worcestershire, by whom he had one son.

1718–1742. *James Tyrrell*

Attained the rank of lieutenant-general in the army, and was M.P. for Boroughbridge from 1722 until his death on 30 August 1742. The Tyrell estates then descended to his kinsman, Augustus Schutz. James was unsuccessful in the election of 1705 for Buckingham, when he was defeated by Browne Willis, the historian. The comic-opera proceedings of an early 18th-century election in a rotten borough are typified by this account. 'When the election for a member to serve for the Corporation of Buckingham came on, my Lord Wharton and several others of his gang appeared there, and made interest for one captain Tyrrell (son of James Tyrrell esq) who was prevailed with to leave his regiment in Flanders, and come over to stand for this place. He, the said Captain Tyrrell (when they came to poll), had 6 votes, and

Mr. Willis 6; upon which the mob, who were concerned to have a representative for the town, made diligent enquiry after the thirteenth person, who was missing, and at length found that he was in prison. After this, he was brought out, and conducted to the market place, where they took the votes, and being asked who he was for, resolutely declared he was for Mr. Willis'.[14] Note.—The electors for Buckingham were the Bailiff and 12 burgesses, Willis was a High Church Tory.

Pedigree of Tyrrells of Oakley



* * * * *

THE TYRELLS OF CASTLETHORPE

Sir Thomas of Castlethorpe, son of Sir Edward of Thornton (q.v.), was born on 23 June 1594 and died in 1672, being buried at Castlethorpe on 16 March (Reg.). He was trained in the law, admitted a member of the Inner Temple in 1612, called to the Bar there in 1621, and elected a Bencher in 1659. During the Civil War, Thomas served on the parliamentary side as a captain and afterwards as colonel of horse under Bedford and Essex. His regiment bore the brunt of the fighting at Lostwithiel in 1644. One of the Committee for Aylesbury, for which borough he stood for parliament in 1645, but was not elected. Appointed a commissioner in 1656 to assess the proportion to be levied in Buckingshamshire of the Spanish war tax.

In 1656 a petition from his tenants in the manor of Hanslope was read in parliament, in which he was charged with certain evasions of their customary rights. This was dismissed on the grounds that the proper remedy was by action at law. He was M.P. for Aylesbury in 1659-60, and in 1659 was sworn, with two others, joint Commissioner of the Great Seal for the term of five months, and voted Sergeant

at Law. He was knighted 16 July 1660, appointed justice of the common pleas on 27 July following, and placed on the commission for the trial of the regicides, but appears to have taken no active part in this.

In 1667 he was a member of the court of summary jurisdiction to try causes between owners and occupiers of lands and tenements in the districts ravaged by the Fire of London. In recognition of his services in this capacity the Corporation of London caused his portrait to be painted by Michael Wright and placed in the Guildhall (1671).[13] The portraits of the 22 judges who carried out this assessment after the fire remained in the Guildhall until 1940, when they became damaged by a later conflagration of the City of London, this time occasioned by enemy action. That of Sir Thomas Tyrrell was subsequently presented to the Inner Temple and has now been cleaned and restored.

Sergeants' Inn in Fleet Street—the ancient residence of the Sergeants at Law—was burned down in the Fire of London in 1666. The lease from the Dean and Chapter of York was renewed in 1670 and the Inn rebuilt as follows:

> First, there being laid down by each of those seventeen persons who were called to the state and Degree of Sergeant at Law in Michaelmas Term, Anno 1669, the Sums of one hundred pounds, and out of that about four hundred pounds taken for defraying the charge of their Feast, and some other general expences; the remainder was imploy'd towards the structure of the Chappel, Hall and Kitchin; which being done all the cost of this Fabrick (consisting in Lodgings and other necessary roomes) was accomplished by these worthy persons here under-named: viz
>
> Sir John Kelynge Kt. Ld. Ch. Just. of the Kings Bench.
> Sir Thomas Twysden Kt. & Bart. one of the Justices of the same.
> Sir Chris. Turnor Kt. one of the Barons of H.M. Exchequer.
> Sir Thomas Tirrel Kt. one of the Justices of Ct. of Common Pleas.
> Sir William Wilde Kt. & Bart. another . . .
> And these Sergeants at Law: viz (10 names).
>
> Fifteen coats of arms were displayed in window glass in commemoration, one of which is: 'Thomas Tirell miles unus Iustic: domini Regis de Banco' and shows the coat: Argent two chevrons azure a border engrailed gules.[15] The same coat and inscription, with only the addition of the date 1660 was also in the Inner Temple Hall.[16]

Sir Thomas was granted the reversion of the lease of Castlethorpe Manor for 41 years in 1626,[17] his tenure of which was confirmed by royal grant in June 1663.[13] Such scant information tells us little or nothing about his home and family; not even when he began to live in the Manor House at Castlethorpe, but it would appear that in his younger years he had a family home somewhere else, as the christenings of his children are not found in the Castlethorpe register. The earliest date suggesting his residence there occurs in a letter to Rd. Grenville, High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, which carries the date-line 'Throp, 25 July, 1642'.[18]

The village of Castlethorpe was, anciently, part of the parish of Hanslope and its name is derived from an original 'Throp' or 'Thorp', meaning a small hamlet or an outlying farm, to which was added the prefix 'Castle' because here was the site of the Norman castle of Hanslope. Demolished in 1215 by Fulc de Breauté on behalf of King John, it was probably rebuilt subsequently as the Mauduit family continued there for some time afterwards.

However, by the early 15th century the manor had become part of the crown lands and nothing is heard of any personage of note actually residing there. Then in 1626

Thomas Tyrrell was granted the reversion of the lease of Castlethorpe Manor, which begs the question whether there was a house of even moderate size there already which he later enlarged, or was he solely responsible for building the house at the south-western corner of the old castle site in which he and his family were undoubtedly living at a slightly later date.

Almost exactly a hundred years after Thomas first received the Castlethorpe lease, the estate here was sold by Cristobella and Harriet, the two daughters and co-heiresses of his grandson, another Thomas. Less than a century later 'a small part only' was standing, according to Lipscomb in 1847.[18] He related that 'the principal portion of this building having been taken down about the commencement of the present century, the part left standing was converted into a cottage'. Although evidently diminished, the remains were still considerably larger than would usually be considered as a cottage, and it would seem that in fact the building came to be lived in by several families as recorded in the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments report at the beginning of the 20th century,[19] which describes the house thus:

> Castle Yard: formerly a farmhouse, now tenements, 150yds. west of the church is of two storeys with a cellar: the walls are of stone; the roofs are tiled It was built probably early in the seventeenth century on an L shaped plan, the wings extending towards the south and east: the house has been repaired, additions have been built at the east end of the east wing and many of the windows have been blocked. On the south front the south wing is gabled, and in the angle between the wings is a large projecting chimney stack of stone; two doorways have moulded frames and one of them has a door with nail-studded oak panels. At the back the south wing is gabled and has, on the first floor, a window of five lights with a frame, mullions and transom of moulded wood; another window has a moulded frame.
>
> *Interior.* On the ground floor the ceilings have chamfered beams and one doorway has a moulded frame. In the cellar is a doorway with stop-chamfered jambs and a square head of stone, possibly part of a former building of earlier date. On the first floor is a fireplace of stone with a flat four centred arch under a square head. The roof timbers are visible, the collar beams being arched struts.
>
> *Condition.* Not very good.

In more recent years this old house has once again become a single private residence, but in the process has suffered considerably at the hands of those renovating and converting it for modern living. Unhappily we have no plan or description of Sir Thomas's manor house, but some idea of its size can be obtained from the will of his widow, Dame Bridget, in which she itemises all the household stuff room by room (*see* section, 'Two Inventories').

It is no longer possible to correlate with any accuracy the rooms of the present building with the original design after the destruction and alterations of two and a half centuries. On the ground floor walls have been removed and doorways altered, even to the extent of cutting through an old fireplace, while in the most recent 'face-lift' the process of bringing the roof space into use as rooms has involved removal of the tie-beams which bodes ill for the house in years to come. Some few corners here and there are clearly part of the original structure, and upstairs (there is no trace of the old staircase or even of its position) two or three bedroom doors have moulded oak frames and an air of antiquity which must belong to Sir Thomas's house.

The exterior of the building also shows signs of additions, alterations and removal of walls, so that even the ground plan is quite different from the original, and although the modern 'Castle Yard' is an attractive and spacious stone-built house with

established walled gardens it is probably but a shadow of its former self when it was the home of 'Sir Thomas Tyrrell Kt., one of His Majesty's Justices of his Court of Common Pleas' (Plate 27).

Sir Thomas's monument in the chancel at Castlethorpe, where he was buried in 1671, relates that Dame Bridget, who survived him, was his third wife, but makes no further mention of the other two. These are stated to have been: (1) Frances Saunders, widow of Richard Grenville; and (2) . . ., the widow of Colonel Windebank, whom he married at Hanslope in 1654.[20]

When Richard Grenville of Wotton died in 1618 he left Frances, a widow with a son, Richard, aged six years,[21] if not other children as well. She presumably married Thomas Tyrell soon after that date and became the mother of most, if not all, of his children (see below). They remained married until 1653 when she died and was buried at Wotton on 1 December.[21] It is highly probable that the young Richard Grenville was brought up by his step-father, Thomas Tyrell, but no trace of the informality one would expect from such a relationship appears in the letter from Thomas in 1642 'To the Rt. Worll. Richard Grenville, High Sheriff of the County of Bucks.' which commences 'Sir', and finishes with 'Yours, Tho. Tyrrill'.[18] There was, however, a close family connection between the Grenvilles and the Tyrells, and this Richard, in fact, married, as his second wife, Elinor, the daughter of Thomas Tyrell's brother, Timothy of Oakley, the widow of Sir Peter Temple of Stantonbury (*see* Pedigree X).

Lipscomb, in a pedigree under Hanslope, shows Thomas, Peter, Elisabeth and Theodosia as the children of the first wife, Frances, and James as son of Bridget, the third wife. However, under Castlethorpe in the same volume he relates that Sir Thomas had 'by Bridget his wife left two sons, Thomas and Peter', which indicates some lack of conviction on his part. Thomas is reported to have been the eldest son (see below), and Peter is noted as having matriculated at Cambridge in 1646, so quite clearly both he and Thomas were born to the first wife twenty years or more prior to the second marriage, and the probability is that all the children of Sir Thomas were of this union.

In her will, Dame Bridget refers to Peter and James as 'my son-in-law Sir Peter Tyrrill', and 'my son-in-law James Tyrrill'. The phraseology is quite different from that in use today, but since Sir Peter was unquestionably her stepson, the natural assumption must be that James was also a stepson. The unusual phraseology occurs again in her description of Sir Peter's wife as 'my daughter Sir Peter Tyrrill's Lady'. This would suggest that 'my daughter Lane'—Thomas's daughter, Elisabeth, who married William Lane of Hanslope—might well not be of the simple relationship this description would mean today (see below).

The children of Sir Thomas appear to be: *Thomas,* the eldest son, is said to have incurred his father's grave displeasure in 1663 and seems to have been disinherited.[18] He married Hester, daughter of Sir Edward Tyrrell, Bart., of Thornton, as her third husband, and had a daughter, Frances, who married John Blower of Wood Norton, Norfolk.[20] Lipscomb suggests that he was the 'Thomas Tyrell Esq.' who was buried at Thornton on 11 September 1623,[18] but this and the previous statement are mutually exclusive, and the latter is evidently nonsense, as Thomas, the son of Thomas Tyrell of Castlethorpe could have been no more than an infant at that time; *Peter,* the heir; *Elisabeth,* married William Lane of Hanslope. Charles Tyrell 'of Hanslope', 1694, refers to Mrs. Mary Ellis, daughter of Mrs. Elisabeth Lane of Hanslope. Possibly, as a bachelor, Charles might have lived with them at Hanslope, hence his

designation. (*See* Tyrrells of Oakley.) A rough calculation from this evidence in the will of Charles indicates that Elisabeth was surely born before the early 1650s, so must have been daughter of Frances, and could not possibly have had Bridget for her mother; *Theodosia,* married to Francis Brereton, co. Cheshire;[20] *James,* 'of Caldecott' Buckinghamshire, mentioned in the will of his cousin, Charles of Hanslope, 1694.

On the north side of the chancel in Castlethorpe church is an elaborate monument to Sir Thomas. On a marble altar tomb a full-size effigy of him in marble in full robes lies besides the seated figure of his wife, sorrowful and mourning. Above them an ornamented pediment supported on two black pillars carries a cartouche with the Harrington fret, and on the back is an inscription in Latin (Plate 28). Below this on tablets:

> Neare to this place lyeth the body of Sr. Thomas Tyrrill Knt. one of his Majesty's Justices of his Court of Common Pleas, who married Bridget, one of the daughters of Sr. Edward Harrington of Ridlington, in the county of Rutland, Knt. and Bart., his third wife, who, in gratitude to his invaluable merits, did erect this Monument at her own charge, to perpetuate his Memory. He died ye 8th. day of March 1671 anno aetatis 78. 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, even so saith the Spirit. And their works follow them.' Rev. xiv. 13.
>
> Here is also interred the body of ye said Dame Bridget Tyrrill who, in further respect to ye memory of her said dear husband, and as an humble Tribute of thankfulness to her gracious God for ye blessings she enjoyed here, hath given the sum of 10L. per ann. for ever to the poor of this place, and other pious uses, to be distributed after her death in such manner as by her deed in writing is made fully declared. 'For with such sacrifices God is well pleased'. Heb. xiii, 16.

Bridget Harrington, who died in 1685, included in her will an inventory of the household goods at Castlethorpe, listing these room by room, which gives an excellent idea of the way of life of a fairly well-to-do family at this time. This is further discussed in the section on Inventories. In her latter years Bridget was also responsible for two other slabs in Castlethorpe church, described as follows by Lipscomb,[18] but not now visible:

> 1. On a grey marble inlaid in white these arms—a fret, and below in a lozenge of white marble the following 'This marble was prepared at the expense of Dame Bridget Tyrrell daughter of Sir Edward Harrington and wife of Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Knt., one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, who designed this place upon her Soul's flight to Heaven to be her body's Dormitory till the coming of Jesus to re-unite the same. "Those that sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." '
>
> 2. Adjoining this is a black marble slab inlaid with white having the arms of Tyrrell impaling Harrington, with this inscription: 'This stone was placed here by Dame Bridget Tyrrell, daughter of Sir Edward Harrington Knt., one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas who departed this life the 8th. day of March Ao. Dni. 1671, in the 78th. year of his age having designed this place upon his Soul's flight to Heaven'.

1672–1711. *Sir Peter Tyrrell, Baronet*

Matriculated pensioner from Peterhouse, Cambridge, Easter 1646; admitted at Inner Temple 1645.[22] He was created baronet in 1667, was M.P. for Buckingham in 1679, and died in 1711, being buried at Castlethorpe on 11 March.[20] He married firstly, Bridget, the daughter of Sir Edward Altham, Bart., of Markhall, Essex, who died childless. A letter of 1661 from Peter Tyrell to Sir James Altham addresses him as 'Good Brother', and is signed 'Your constant loving brother'.[23]

Peter's second wife, and the mother of his children, was Anne, the daughter of Carew Raleigh, the eldest surviving son of Sir Walter Raleigh. She died in 1708 and was buried at Castlethorpe on 24 January.[24] Their children were: *Sir Thomas, Bart.*, eldest son and heir, baptised 8 April 1669 at Foxcote, Buckinghamshire; *Philippa,* buried 29 April 1706 at Castlethorpe;[24] *Susanna,* buried 15 May 1706 at Castlethorpe;[24] *Elisabeth,* buried 2 February 1716 at Castlethorpe;[24] *Francis,* ? buried at Thornton 1846 (T) (but see below); *Ann,* married . . . Fry (T).

In her will Dame Bridget refers to 'the five daughters' of Sir Peter, so there should evidently be one more than shown above. Lipscomb[20] shows six daughters, but one of these—Charlotte—should be listed as the daughter of Thomas, Bart. If Phillis equates with Philippa, then the above list would match with that of Lipscomb by changing a ? son, Francis, not elsewhere noted, to a fifth daughter, Frances, which seems the probable explanation. (In the early part of 1706 there was some virulent disease going about to account for the deaths of three members of the family within three weeks: Philippa and Susanna, Peter's daughters, and Charlotte, the daughter of his son, Thomas.)

1711–1714. *Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Second Baronet*

Baptised 8 April 1669, he matriculated at Oxford in 1687,[1] and died in May 1714, being buried at Castlethorpe.[20] He married Dorothy, the daughter of Giles Eyre, judge, who subsequently re-married to Richard Frewen of Oxford.[18] Their children: *Eyre,* ob. infans. 23 January 1695 (or 98), buried at Castlethorpe;[25] *Charlotte,* buried 18 May 1706 at Castlethorpe;[24] *Harriet,* married James Lamb of Kidlington, Oxford, by whom she is said to have had one daughter, Frances.[18] She died 17 September 1785 as declared on a plaque at Grendon Underwood; *Christobella,* died 1789, aged 94, after surviving three husbands.

When Sir Thomas, Bart., died in 1714 lacking male heir, Harriet and Christobella became his two co-heiresses, and Christobella, who outlived her sister by some four years, was the last of the Tyrells of Castlethorpe.

The wall monument on the south side of the sanctuary at Grendon Underwood reads: 'The Rt. Hon. Christobella, Viscountess Say and Sele, ob. 23 July 1789, aged 94. She was daughter of Sir Thomas Tyrrell of Castlethorpe in Co. Bucks. Bart., was first married to John Knap of Cumner, Co. Berks. Esq., next to John Pygot of Doddershall in Co. Bucks. Esq., and lastly to the Rt. Hon. Richard Visc. Say & Sele whom she survived'.

1. John Knap was still alive in 1726, and Christobella married to him before that:[26] possibly many years previously as she would be aged about thirty at that time.

2. In the north side of the chancel at Grendon Underwood is the monument by Peter Scheemakers to John Pygott who died in 1751, aged 47, which reads: '. . . He married Christobella one of the daughters and Coheirs of Sir Thomas Tyrell of Castlethorpe in Co. Bucks. Bart., who survived him, and Received an Ample Testimony of the Great Regard and Affection with which he honoured her whilst living, by the generous Provision he made for her by his will, at his death. He had one son only, Robert, born 5th. July 1735, Dyed at School 27th. November 1747 in his thirteenth year. Christobella Pigott hath caused this monument to be erected to the memory of her ever honoured husband and Dear Son, who both lie buried

underneath this chancel in the same vault, where she herself intends also to be buried with them; And hopes to rise with them in Glory at the last day'. As there was but one child of this union it is difficult to pin down the date of marriage, since it is quite possible that it took several years of married life to achieve this one child; we are not told whether this was a solitary pregnancy or the only successful one out of many miscarriages. All that can be said is that they married sometime between 1726 when John Knap was still alive, and 1734, in which year Robert Pygott was conceived.

3. Two years after the death of John Pygott, Christobella married for the third time, to Richard Fiennes at Hillesdon on 13 November 1753.[27] He died in 1789 and is commemorated by a monument on the north wall of the sanctuary at Grendon Underwood, facing the one to Christobella on the south wall (Plate 29). No children are mentioned for this marriage, which is to be expected as Christobella was 58 when she made this third match.

To confuse the seeker after historical truth the *Victoria County History of Berkshire* (Vol. 4, p. 14) refers to a conveyance of 1650 between Robert Terrell and others to Nicholas Knapp, offering as explanation in a footnote 'Christabel Tyrrel had married John Knapp of Cumnor'—apparently completely oblivious of a mere hundred years difference in date; and a piece of unconscious humour is provided by Mee's *Buckinghamshire* (p. 116) which states 'Two eighteenth century monuments face across the altar, a weeping woman in memory of Lord Saye and Sele, and a winged cupid in memory of his widow. Sitting with one hand on his knee is John Pigtott who must have known them'.

Lipscomb, the Buckinghamshire historian, who was brought up at Quainton, only a few miles from Doddershall House, and had met Christobella in his younger days, gives the following account of this amazing woman.

> The exact age of this lady is not ascertained, but it was commonly reported and believed that she had passed her hundredth year; and rumours were formerly circulated that the register of her baptism at Castlethorpe had been purposely mutilated to conceal a fact, which it was one of her foibles to hide from even her most intimate friends. It is evident that some mutilation has been made in the book about the supposed period of her birth; but she had repeatedly declared that 'she drew her native breath in London, and that there she wished to breathe her last'. She was in her youth celebrated for her beauty, and eminently distinguished by her wit and vivacity through life, her cheerfulness and pleasantry throwing many eccentricities and failings into the shade. She was the life of all social parties, and the delight of a numerous circle of acquaintances, the gayest among the gay; fond of the company of the young, and so much attached to the amusement of dancing, in which she greatly excelled, that she enjoyed that diversion, with unabated spirit, to a very late period, dressed in the liveliest colours, and moving 'on the light fantastic toe', with elegance and grace, whilst many of her juniors were sinking into decrepitude. It was, probably, after she had attained her ninetieth year, that, upon one of these occasions, she gaily remarked that, 'she continued to secure a good partner by an annual present of a side of venison to a gentleman who danced remarkably well; but that she began to think he seemed to like younger ladies better, and believed she must increase her bribe to a whole buck, that she might not lose so agreeable partner'. She facetiously declared, 'That she had chosen her first husband for love, her second for riches, and the third for honours; and that she had now some thoughts of beginning again in the same order'.[28]

Lipscomb further records: 'On a small pane of glass in one of the windows of the apartment at the S.E. angle of the house (formerly the common parlour, but since otherwise appropriated), was a complimentary copy of verses, written with a diamond

by Pope, and with his signature annexed; addressed to Viscountess Say and Sele, then Mrs. Pigott, when that eminent poet was on a visit to Doddershall; but the writer of this History, who perfectly well remembers having been shown these lines at a very early period of his life, by Lady Saye and Sele, has not been able to discover whether they have been preserved'.[28]

After the death of Christobella in 1789 Doddershall Park was considerably altered and modernised, and presumably the glass was removed at this time. It is said that many of the old pictures were destroyed, but one of Christobella 'when very young' was preserved.[29] (Efforts by the author to trace this portrait have not been successful, and the present owner of Doddershall Park apparently has no knowledge of it.)

An obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1789,[30] gives a picture similar to that of Lipscomb:

> The late Viscountess dressed even at the close of her life more like a girl of 18 than a woman of 90. Her favourite colour in ribbons was pink, and even in the present year she wore muslin gowns and gauze trimmed with ribbons of this colour. Her favourite amusement was dancing and she indulged in it almost to the last week of her life. Her ladyship had an excellent heart, and wishing to see everyone as cheerful as herself, if the want of money made them sad, her purse was generously at their service.

Chapter Nine

THE AMERICAN CONNECTION?

AFTER FIVE OR SIX CENTURIES of medieval England, by Stuart times the several branches of the Tyrell family had proliferated and disseminated, both geographically and socially, to such an extent that they formed a cross section of national life, from land-owner to labourer. Baronet, knight, lawyer, cleric, soldier, sailor, surgeon, merchant, yeoman, butcher, baker, maltster, grocer, clothier, leather-seller, card-maker, scrivener, coachman, husbandman; so range the titles and descriptions of recorded Tyrells of the 17th century, and lower still in the social scale were those 'unworthy' of notice, with wordly possessions too few to warrant their wills being enrolled.

Earlier chapters have demonstrated many uncertainties concerning the main branches of the family, precluding the possibility of integrating into the scheme all the numerous lesser families. From one or several of these came the first Tyrells to settle in the New World—as wealthy men moving in with a land grant, or pauper emigrants searching for a better life. As the effective and serious colonisation of America began after 1630, with the Massachusetts Bay Company, it is to this period that attention must be directed when attempting to determine the English antecedents of the first American settlers.

Conclusive evidence of named Tyrells who landed in America might confidently be expected to appear in genealogical lists already compiled and printed, but, such is not the case. No Tyrells emerge from the passenger list of the *Mayflower, Fortune, Anne* and *Little John,* which carried early settlers across the Atlantic between 1620 and 1623, nor are any to be found in a compilation of some 2,800 souls who emigrated to the New World between 1620 and 1650.[1]

Then, again, American biographical dictionaries are completely silent on the topic of early Tyrells, and this family receives no mention in *Who Was Who in America from 1607 onwards,* nor did it supply any candidates to graduation from Harvard in the years after 1636.[2]

That the many Tirells, Terrells, or other variants of spelling, scattered throughout the United States are all descended from Tyrells in England is indisputable, but the common links between the two sides of the Atlantic are obscure, relying more on 'tradition' than on fact. Edwin H. Terrell in 1909[3] relates that a Tyrell in Georgia and another in Virginia possessed, respectively, a gold watch and an old ring upon which were engraved the crest of a boar's head with peacock feathers issuing therefrom, which, if they were genuinely old, would seem to indicate a connection with the English armigerous family. It has, however, been noticed in the Heraldry section that arms were used by those not entitled to them, and such comments as 'No one can deny Americans the right to assume Arms, but the accepted practice is

to use only those Arms which their founder ancestor actually brought to America',[4] raise a suspicion that these articles might not have been genuine heirlooms, but later assumptions by people bearing the name Tyrrell.

A Roger Tyrell was recorded in Milford, Connecticut, in 1639, with probable descendants in the same area;[5] a Daniell Turell seems to have settled in Boston, Massachusetts, *c.* 1646 and left descendants; and others, less well recorded, include Thomas of Virgina in 1637, and James of Virginia in 1648.[5] However, the two most quoted names as 'founding fathers' of the American Tyrells are Richmond and William, reputed to descend from the Tyrells of Heron via the Thornton branch. 'The tradition generally relied upon is that William and Richmond were the sons of William Tyrell who was the son of Sir Timothy Tyrell I of Oakley, the son of Sir Edward Tyrell of Thornton'.[6]

Richmond Terrell is recorded as receiving land grants in New Kent County, Virginia, in 1656 or 1658 (640 acres on York River), and in 1670, 600 acres on Chickahoming River. (This first grant is recorded as 1656 in 'Terrell Genealogy', Emma Dicken, Gen. 79, Richmond Terrill; but as 1658 in *Virginia History Magasine,* Vol. 16, p. 19.)

William is a little less definite, and there were probably at least two of this name at about the same date. William, the brother of Richmond, 'appears to have come to Virginia between 1658 and 1665, but it is not known if he remained or returned to London. He hd a daughter, name unknown, and a son, William, the one who is thought to have married Susanna Waters, but so far no proof is found'.[7] It is elsewhere stated that this William 'Came to Virginia in 1667 with his brother Robert . . . raised tobacco and bought African slaves . . . married Susannah Waters . . . lived in Hanover County, Virginia, and died about 1727 at the age of 98'.[8] The first story seems more plausible.

On the other hand, a William Therrill, from whom apparently are descended a great number of American Tirells, was married in Boston in 1654, moved to Weymouth in 1672, and in 1676 was in Perquimans Precinct of Old Albemarle County, North Carolina, where he died in 1682.[4]

'The tradition generally relied upon' by Edwin H. Terrell in 1909 appears, in later years, to have been discarded in favour of a different genealogy, deriving again from the Thornton Tyrells, but not any longer via Sir Timothy of Oakley. This postulates a William, a younger son of George of Thornton, who married Margaret, the daughter of William Richmond of Stewkeley, and had a son, Robert 'of Reading', the father of Richmond and William.

When George Tyrell of Thornton died in 1571 the inquisition post mortem recorded that his son and heir was Edward, aged 20 years all but a few days, and so a younger son 'William' would have been, at the very outside, 19 years old at that time. Edward, as noticed previously, appears to have married rather precipitously earlier that same year at Thornton, and the expectation would be that William had not married before this. In any case he did not marry at Thornton as no such name occurs in the register there. William is said to have married Margaret, the daughter of William Richmond of Stewkley, and so it might be thought probable to find the record of the wedding in her home parish. Unfortunately, the Register of Marriages at Stewkley only commences in 1599, and if Robert of Reading was their first son he must surely have been born prior to that date as he himself married in 1617.

On the other hand William, born not earlier than the 1550s, would doubtless have married a younger wife, and as the Baptismal Register at Stewkley starts in 1545 she would appear in this if born and christened in that parish. However, there is no mention of a Margaret Richmond, and what is more the name Richmond does not appear at all throughout the first volume of the registers, which cover baptisms 1545–1653, burials 1599–1653, and marriages 1599–1646. It is thus not possible to supply any link which might substantiate a William as a younger son of George of Thornton, and while it cannot be gainsaid, the story must be viewed as just another 'tradition'.

Robert Terrell, recorded as Councillor of Reading in 1616, married at St. Giles, Reading, Jane Baldwin, on 29 June 1617, and their nine children were all baptised there: John 1618, Robert 1619, Mary 1621, Margaret 1623, Richmond 1624, John 1626, ob. 1626, Charles 1627, ob. 1629, William 1629, Timothy 1631.

John Terrell of Reading, clothier, will proved 1662, referred to his sister, Margaret Warner, brother Robert, brother Richmond, brother William, and sister Mary Mowes,[9] and is therefore without doubt the eldest son of this Robert, while the second son was evidently the Robert Terrell of the City of London, merchant, who, in his will of 1677, mentions brother Richmond, William the son of brother William, and sister Mary Mew.[10] This latter mentions outstanding accounts in Virginia where he is seen, from other sources, to have been a merchant. He was witness to a deed in York County, 24 January 1647,[10] and in July 1656 and March 1657 he was reported as landing in England on return from merchandising in Virginia. He stayed, on these occasions, at the house of William Terrill in the City of London,[11] which suggests that his home was then in Virginia, and that his brother, William, was still resident in London.

One of the executors of the will of John of Reading in 1662 was 'cosen' Robert Terrell of Reading, maltster, which could mean he was the son of a brother of John's father (Robert), or possibly a nephew of John, as the word was frequently employed in that sense. This was probably the 'Robert Terrell the Elder of Reading' who died in 1679,[12] leaving a wife, Bennett, a daughter Ellinor and four sons; John, the eldest son received '£50 only because I have already given him a large portion of my estate', Robert inherited a property in Bayhurst, Hampshire, Francis the *Hindhead* (inn) in Reading, and Thomas a house 'adjoining to my sister in law Jane Terrell, widow'.

There must have been an extensive family of Tyrells in or around Reading, but there is no evidence from there or from the Thornton family to suggest that the two were connected, and it may well be that those noticed in Reading were part of the family found in several places in Berkshire from the early 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century. These are mostly isolated references incapable of assimilation into a coherent pedigree, but the occurrence of the unusual Christian name of Avery on many occasions throughout this period is strongly suggestive of these glimpses being of the same family in several places in that county.

1. In Drayton church are several monuments to Tyrells, the earliest of which is a stone slab with a brass plate: 'Here Lieth the body of John Terrell the son of the saide Averi bur. iune 12 1632 age 25'. A second brass plate, now missing, recorded the death of his mother 'the wife of Avery Terrald 1647'.[13] One of the benches in the church is inscribed 'John Tirrall deceased Ano dmi 1632 gave this seate to the churche'.[13] As he was born in 1606 or 1607, his father, Avery, must have been

born in the latter part of the 16th century, probably not later than the early 1580s.

Other inscriptions at Drayton tell us of:

(a) Avery Tirrell, died 20 March 168[3?] aged 84, and his wife Mary died 12 Nov. 1700 aged 85.
(b) William Tyrell of Steventon died March 1st 1786 aged 67, and his wife Mary died Feb. 26 1791 aged 73.
(c) . . . wife of . . . Tyrell died 1794 . . . Also . . . their son . . . died 1821. Also Mary Ann . . . died 1824. (Slab is very damaged).
(d) Martha wife of . . . Tyrell died Aug 22 1816 aged 49, their son John Tyrell died March 22 1803 aged 16, and their daughter Anne died Nov. 23 1793 aged 13 months.
(e) Ann wife of Rev. James Tyrell, died Oct. 22 1826 aged 62. (Rev. James is listed as curate 1780–1828.)
(f) Avery Tyrell died Sept. 29 1832 aged 73. Ann his wife died April 11 1837 aged 73.
(g) Mary the wife of Richard Tyrell died Dec. 13 1841 aged 20.

(The church was largely rebuilt in 1855, and suffered considerably from fire damage in 1959, factors additional to the general wear and tear of the centuries affecting memorial slabs.)

The guide book to the church makes mention of several Tyrells, complementing the names on the memorials:

1704 Terrier: witness include Avery Terral Sen., William Terral Sen., and Avery Terral Jun.
1739 Avery Tyrrell one of the two churchwardens.
1783 James Tyrell BA. minister.
1815 Enclosure Award includes; Avery Tyrell, Mary Tyrrell, Joseph Tyrrell and Martha Tyrrell.

2. Another Avery occurs as a brother to Timothy Tirrell in his will of 1656.[14] Although referred to as a Citizen and Leather-seller of London, Timothy made a bequest 'to the poor of Hagbourne, Berkshire, where I was born'.

3. In Hagbourne church is a black ledger stone bearing the arms; two chevrons within an engrailed border, with the boar's head and peacock feathers crest (Plate XXXIX). This commemorates Avery Tirell, Gent., who died in 1716, his wife Mary (ob. 1719) and Timothy, their son, who died in 1748, aged sixty-eight. These must have been close relatives of the aforegoing, and if Timothy was born in 1680 to a father of about forty years, this Avery might conceivably have been a younger brother of the Timothy in London.

Another slab in this church is in memory of John, the son of Francis and Mary Tirrell, died 17 June 1697, aged two years and two months, and relates that 'near this place lyes his grandfather William Tirrell late of East Hagbourne, deceased'. This is possibly the William who died in 1662 leaving a charge on his lands of one pound a year to the neighbouring parish of Blewberry.[15]

4. It is recorded that Sir Walter Tyrrell, High Sheriff of Berkshire in 1723, was succeeded in his moiety of the Manor of Stanford in the Vale by his son, Avery

Tyrrell (? date), and that the manor then descended to Avery's grandson, a Rev. Mr. Hatch.[16] In the chancel of the church at Stanford in the Vale is a wall monument surmounted by a shield bearing the arms Argent two chevrons azure, a border gules (though *not* shown engrailed) and an inscription to Elizabeth, the wife of Walter Tyrell, Esq., died 5 May 1731, aged 62, and Mary, their daughter, who died 27 October 1728, aged twenty-four.

Outside the east end of the church is a raised tomb with a slab 'To the memory of Mr. Avery Tyrrell of this Parish who died March 7 1788 aged 82, and the Board of Benefactors in the church relates that in A.D. 1823 the Rev. George Avery Hatch gave £100, 'the interest of which is to be employed in keeping in repair the tomb of Mr. Avery Tyrrell'. (Evidently the grandson.)

5. From the same area of Berkshire come a few other references to Tyrells, viz.:

(a) Joseph Tyrell and wife Anne, in conection with the Manor of Kingston Bagpuize, 1725.[17]

(b) 1650 Robert Terrill and wife Mary conveyed a quarter of the manor of Chilton to Nicholas Knapp.[18] Wall monuments at Chilton record what are evidently some of his descendants:

> Mr. George Knapp of Abingdon, died 22 November 1776, aged 55.
> Katherine, the wife of George Knapp and daughter of Joseph Tirrell of Kidlington, co. Oxford, died 6 June 1807, aged 85.
> George Knapp, Esq., of Abingdon, died 12 November 1809, aged 56.
> (This Katherine might be the daughter of the Joseph noted in (a) above.'

(c) William Forster, who died 1660 at Aldermaston, had a wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Tirrell.

(d) The manor of Hatford was bought in 1720 by William Tyrrell, while John and Walter were dealing with this manor in 1761.[19]

(e) Seventeenth-century Charity Boards at Sutton Courtenay church refer to Thomas and Robert Tyrrald, and a John Tirrald was recorded as churchwarden in 1682 in the inscription on a pewter flagon.[20]

In 1855 'Mr. Edward Tyrell' bought Berkyn Manor House at Horton, Buckinghamshire,[21] on the north bank of the Thames a stone's throw across the water from Berkshire, and it is related that 'his family came from the county of Berkshire'. This book gives a 'Pedigree' of Tyrell of Horton, including the usual arms of Argent two chevrons azure a bordure engrailed gules, but does not give any useful detail of Edward's antecedents. It shows Walter, son Avery, noted above at Stanton in the Vale, and indicates that Avery's daughter, Mary, was a co-heiress, and therefore there was no male issue from whom Edward could be descended. Edward, who is shown to have a son Avery, is seen to be the son of a Timothy Tyrell who was born in 1754 and died in 1832, while one of his brothers was another Timothy. However, the relationship of the father to the aforegoing Walter and Avery is not indicated, though one must assume that there was a close link. Perhaps this Timothy was descended from a brother of either Avery or his father Walter?

At all events, these various references have shown the frequent occurrence of the name Avery—at least six are discernible in the very incomplete record we have noticed, and the Drayton Terrier of 1704, recording both Avery Senior and Avery Junior, may indicate another that has not otherwise been noted. One would imagine that this rather

unusual Christian name of Avery originated as the surname of some Tyrell's wife, back in the mid-16th century or earlier, and it is interesting to find that at Drayton in 1880, when new church bells were dedicated, the Conductor and Tenor Bell was one Jesse Avery.[22]

There are, in addition, three separate men called Timothy, evidently another popular name, so it would seem that all these Berkshire Tyrells are very closely related (though possibly not to those in Reading). Indeed, it is tempting to assume that they are all of the same line, and the names Timothy and Avery also suggest a connection with the family of Timothy Tirrill, citizen and leatherseller of London, who died in 1656, and who had a brother called Avery and was born in Hagbourne, Berkshire.

The 16th-century antecedents of this family remain completely obscure, and one can only speculate upon the possible connection by unknown generations of younger sons with one of the earlier more prominent lines. The name Avery, however, does provide a link with another 'tradition' concerning early American settlers.

Roy Lee Terrell, 1934,[23] derives his ancestry from Timothy 'an orphan boy who took ship from England and located in New Kent County, Virginia, leaving his brother Avery in England'. He was said to be born in the year his father died, 1656. His father, Timothy, was declared to be the son of Robert of Reading, described as the eldest son of Sir Timothy, disinherited by his father because 'he would not adhere to the strict religious orthodoxy prevailing in England at this time'. Sir Timothy was, of course, the son of Sir Edward of Thornton. Timothy, the son of Robert of Reading, is said to have married Dorothy Collard and had three sons: Avery, b. 1647; William, b. 1650 and died 1651; and Timothy, b. 1656.

The facts, however, do not bear out this pedigree. It is not necessary to comment further upon the ancestry of Robert of Reading which has already been discussed, but his son, Timothy, could not equate with the Timothy who died in 1656, noted above. Timothy Tirrill, citizen and leatherseller of London, made his first bequest to 'the child my wife now goes with, in case it be a son £1,500, and in case it be a daughter £1,000'. There are no bequests to any other children so the presumption is that there were none. So far, then, this would tally well with a posthumous son Timothy, but the other relationships referred to in the will do not accord with this story. His near relations, at that time, are shown to be brothers Robert, William and Avery and a sister, Mary (Waller), and his wife Dorothy, the daughter of William Pollard.[14]

It can thus be seen that his siblings preclude his being Timothy, the son of Robert of Reading, who had sons Robert and William, but not Avery, and his daughter Mary was married to Mowes, not Waller. The orphan boy story is also seen to be wrong in that Avery and William are the brothers of the deceased Timothy, not of his posthumous son who is clearly shown to be an only child. Furthermore, William was still alive in 1656 so could not have died in 1651, and the births of Avery and William in this pedigree are patently spurious. It is therefore possible that this William and his brother Robert were those referred to above as merchants and settlers in Virginia, though the will of Robert, son of Robert of Reading, makes it more likely that he and his brother were the ones in question.

The Timothy Terrell who supposedly settled in Virginia and married Elisabeth Foster could conceivably have been son of Timothy the leatherseller, but he, the father, must derive from some other stock than Robert of Reading. Born in Hagbourne (*v.s.*), he would almost certainly be some close relative of William of Hagbourne, yeoman,

who died in 1652, A real 'earthy' family appears from his will, which mentions 'his wife Elisabeth; William Tirrill, son of William Tirrill, my youngest son; grandson Robert Tirrill, natural son of Thomas Creed (and, presumably, one of William's daughters); grandson William Tirrill, natural son of my son Brooke Tirrill; Frances Hutchin, wife of Robert Hutchin and one of my natural daughters; son in law Thomas Cullerne'.[24] Another William, perhaps son of this one, demised one pound annually to Hagbourne charities by his will of 1662.[25]

An alternative Timothy, born in 1668, is promulgated in 'William Lee McCormick, a Study In Tolerance',[26] wherein he is given as son of William, the son of William (who settled in Virginia in 1657 or 1658), the son of Robert of Reading; which is possible though confirmatory evidence is lacking. (Some of the detail provided in this pedigree is obviously nonsense: for instance Timothy's father, William, has the dates 1629 to 1727 attributed to him. Granting the possibility of living to 98, there can be no chance of his being born only 12 years after his grandfather's marriage, and it would appear that the date of 1629 has unaccountably slipped a generation and rightly belongs to William, the son of Robert.)

As we have seen, earlier genealogical searches have focussed attention upon Robert of Reading and his family as the ancestors of many of the American Tyrells, and this link with the colonies appears circumstantially sound, though his antecedents are still in doubt. Francis Terrell, citizen and grocer of London, who died in 1609, has been drawn into this 'tradition', but, it would seem, without any good reason, except that he was a merchant in London as was Robert, son of Robert of Reading, who died there in 1677. Francis has been described[27] as a younger son of George Terrell of Thornton and great uncle of Richmond and William, but there is no evidence to support this.

London has been, since Roman times, the chief centre of trade in England, and it is to be expected that at any period some member of an undoubtedly extensive family would be found there; indeed, it has earlier been seen that there was a William Tyrell, tailor, recorded in London during the first two decades of the 15th century. There might then be a logical expectation of finding his descendants in the locality during later centuries, in addition to the probable arrival in the metropolis of younger sons from other branches come, like Dick Whittington, in search of fame and fortune.

Francis Terrell, citizen and grocer of London, in his will, makes most of his bequests to the town of Croydon, Surrey, and to several people of that place, which suggests that far from belonging to the Tyrells of Reading and Berkshire, he was connected with another, loosely defined, group found during the 17th century in the county of Surrey to the immediate south of London.

William Tyrell of Croydon, who died in 1569[28] made testamentary bequests to two sons, John and William, and three daughters, Mary, Agnes and Marjorie, and also to John and Joanne Tyrell his 'sister's' children.

Another William, described in his will of 1585[29] as a grocer of London, left issue by his wife, Margery a son Thomas and a daughter, Catherine.

In 1588 Thomas Tyrrell senior, citizen and grocer of London, together with his son and heir, Thomas, bought the Vicarages of Finchingfield, Steeple Bumstead and Shopland, Essex.[30] Also in 1588, 'Thomas Tyrell, citizen of London', acquired the Manor of Church Hall in Pakelsham, Essex;[31] and 'Thomas Tyrell senior and Thomas Tyrell his son', described as of Fulborne, Cambridgeshire, received the Manor of Abbots Hall in Shalford, Essex.[32]

'Thomas Tirrell, citizen and grocer of London', died in 1599, leaving property in Mitcham and Croydon, Surrey, and in the City of London to his wife, Margaret, for life, and then to his son Thomas.[33] The London Subsidy Roll of *c.* 1589 shows Thomas Tyrell in Cornhill ward paying £65.[34] Then, in 1643, 'Thomas Tyrell of Fulborne, Cambs.', left, among other properties, his rectory of Shopland, a house in St. Christopher parish in London, houses in Croydon and Mitcham, Surrey, and property in Fulborne. These were entrusted to his wife, Joane, to hold during the minority and nonage of his grandson, Thomas. He also mentions 'Elisabeth Tyrell my son's youngest daughter' (which infers at least one other), who was also under age, but does not, unfortunately, give the name of his son, who had evidently predeceased him.[35]

As there is clearly a strong tradition of the name Thomas in this family it would be reasonable to look for one of this name who might be a possible candidate. Such is a Thomas Tyrell of Burstowe, Surrey, 'Yeoman', who died in 1638 leaving a wife, Mercy, son, Thomas, and two daughters, Susan and Elisabeth.[36] He was probably the Thomas who matriculated at Sidney, Cambridge, in 1615; of Lincoln's Inn 1618, called to the bar 1626, and was described as 'probably son and heir of Thomas of Fulborne'.[37]

Morant records that the Manor of Abbots Hall, Shalford, was conveyed in 1588 to Thomas Tirrell senior and Thomas Tirrell, his son, who were of Fulborne, Cambridgshire. He goes on to say that the son left three children, Thomas, Susan, and Elizabeth, though from the aforegoing evidence this must have been the *grand*son. He states that the last Thomas died without issue and his sisters became his co-heirs. Susan married, in 1639, Michael Dalton of Fulborne, Esq., and Elisabeth married Benjamin Thornton, Esq. Benjamin and Elisabeth subsequently conveyed their moiety of the Manor to Michael Dalton, who had seven children (unnamed by Morant).

This is in agreement with, and augments the note in *Magna Britannica*[38] that 'soon after 1620 the Manor of Zouches became the property of the Tyrells. Sir (?) Thomas Tyrell in 1642 died seised of this and other manors in Fulborne. From the Tyrells the Manor of Zouches passed by inheritance to the Daltons of West Wratting, the last heir male of who, Tyrell Dalton Esq., was buried at Fulborne in 1730'. This Tyrell Dalton is said to have been the heir of Tyrell, the eldest son of Susan and Michael (T).

Reviewing some of the information contained in the earlier items above indicates that: (1) Thomas, grocer of London, who died in 1599, was very probably the son of William, grocer of London, who died in 1585; and (2) the Croydon properties belonging to these Thomases might be explained by postulating that William the London grocer was the second son of William of Croydon. A connection with Burstow, noticed in 1638, suggests the possibility that John Terrill of Burstow, who died in 1580,[39] was a lineal forbear, and he could have been John, the elder son of William of Croydon, who died in 1569. This John of Burstow left a daughter, Elisabeth, and five sons, John, William, Erasmus, Bowett, and Thomas. Curiously, however, the 1623 Visitation of Surrey[40] records sons John, William, Bowett, and Erasmus, but not Thomas. The last three were then all deceased without issue, so this could not be the reason for excluding Thomas, but as the pedigree was concerned with John of Burstow, the eldest son, and his son, John of Reigate, it may be that Thomas and his family were deliberately omitted for the sake of space.

It is noteworthy that this John of Reigate, and presumably his father and grandfather, had attributed to him in this pedigree the Tyrell arms and crest, viz.: argent

two chevrons azure within a border engrailed gules, and the boar's head with peacock feathers. Strictly speaking these arms should have been borne only by the head of the main family at Heron, but we have already seen that various members of the branches descended from this used the same coat without difference. It would thus seem from this evidence that the Burstow Tyrells were not far removed from one of the main branches. Morant, in his description of the Manor of Church Hall, Pakelsham, acquired by Thomas Tyrell, citizen of London in 1568, states that it 'continued ever since in the family and is now in Edmund Tyrell of Stowmarket'. This might argue for the Thomas of 1588 being of the Gipping family, though the Edmund referred to (*c.* 1768) could scarcely be the same Edmund who was at that date holding the Manor of Gipping unless the property had reverted to a relative at some point. Thomas was a popular name in the Gipping family throughout the 16th and 17th centuries (*see* Pedigree VII), so it might well be that Thomas, citizen of London, was son of a younger son of this family.

Others connected with this general area of London and Surrey were Francis of London, with definite Croydon connections (see above), and John Tirrell of London, but late of Dorking, Surrey, who died in 1604, mentioning in his will only three sisters, Ellen, Elisabeth and Agnes.[41] Then there were: Richard of (?), Surrey, yeoman, who died in 1608,[42] leaving a son, Richard, under 18 years of age; Edward Tirrill white-baker of London, who died in 1615,[43] with sons Edward, Richard and John; Robert, late of Chertsey, Surrey, who died in 1617,[44] mentioning only two brothers, Edward and Thomas; and Francis Terrill of Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, husbandman, who died in 1656[45] with an elder son, Francis, a grandson Francis, and a great-grandson, Francis.

One other, Henry Tyrrell of (?), Surrey, described as a mariner, made his will in 1660 aboard a frigate on the coast of India, leaving half his estate 'either in England or India or in any part of the world, that is either in money, plate, goods or jewels or part of shipping' to his wife, Elisabeth, and the other half to his only son, Henry, when of age. His will was proved in 1662.[46] Nominated as trustess for the upbringing of his son are a merchant, a confectioner in London, and 'Mr. Robert Tyrrell of Wilton, Norfolk, esq.'. 'Robert Tyrell of Wilton, Norfolk, esq', in his will of 1674[47] refers to his sons, Richard, Gent., Robert, James, and John, and a daughter, Frances, and a brother, Thomas. One of the witnesses was Anthony Tyrrell, presumably the same man mentioned as a 'kinsman' in 1656 in the will of Robert of Covent Garden, surgeon,[48] who had two daughters, Anne and Frances, and a son, Henry, who predeceased his father and apparently left no heir.

Evidently there was a fairly well-to-do family of Tyrells in Wilton, Norfolk, in the 17th century, as several of them were educated at the University of Cambridge, and one at Oxford. Robert, son of Richard, arrived at Caius College, Cambridge, in January 1625–6, aged 17, as did his brother, Henry, aged 16; and Richard, who was also at Caius, but admitted February 1635–6, was stated probably to be their brother.[37] Henry, admitted at Christs's, Cambridge, in March 1663–4, and James, admitted (age 14) at Caius in April 1664, were both said to be sons of Robert, but this seems unlikely to be the Robert above-mentioned, and is probably the younger Robert, son of Richard; and James, 'son of Robert of Wilton', who matriculated at Oxford in 1664, aged 14,[49] would be in the same generation.

Henry Tyrell, mariner, of Surrey, could not have been either of those who went to Cambridge in 1659 and 1663–4, and seems unlikely to have been the other who was

born *c.* 1609, as by 1660, when he made his will, he would have been over fifty and therefore unlikely to have a son under age to inherit. He could, because of his connection with Robert of Wilton, have been a son of one of the brothers appearing in the record in the earlier part of the century, and presumably Anthony fits in somewhere in this middle generation.

Other Tyrells from Norfolk attended Cambridge during this century: at Thetford is discernible a line of John, son, William, son John; and another Henry, 'of Norfolk', was admitted at Peterhouse in 1659, age 16.[37] These may have been direct descendants of the Norfolk Tyrells from whom it has been conjectured arose the Heron branch, and the Charles Tyrell buried in Dublin in 1665 (*see* Heraldry section) could have been another of this family. Alternatively, they might have come as an offspring from the Essex line, or its subsidiary branch at Gipping in Suffolk, as arose, possibly, those of Bury St. Edmunds: viz.: George, farmer; his son, Charles, a clergyman and chaplain to the king, who died in 1696; and his son, Charles.[37]

Several other families of Tyrells turn up in wills of the 17th century, but none appear to further the search for transatlantic connections:

A John of Danbury, near Chelmsford, Essex, referred in his will of 1626[50] to a son, John, and a daughter, Elisabeth, and would presumably have been connected with the East Horndon family. William Terrill of Eastington, near Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, died in 1648[51] leaving a daughter, Anne, only, but the will of his wife, Elisabeth, in 1660[52] mentioned her brother-in-law, Robert 'Tirrols' of Drayton, Berkshire, so this William must have been one of the family we surveyed in that county. Thomas, a yeoman of the City of Oxford in his will of 1620[53] had two sons, Moyses and William, and a daughter, Anne, while Thomas, a coachman of St. Martin in the Fields, London, who died in 1680, referred to brothers Joseph, William, Jeremy and James, the last of which appeared to have four children,[54] but there is no suggestion that these families had any links elsewhere.

Most of the others are to be found in the south and south-west of England as shown by the following entries:

At East Meon, Hampshire, a few miles from Portsmouth and Southampton, there were evidently several generations of Tyrells in the 17th century: John, a butcher, died in 1627[55] referring only to 'my brother's and sister's children', and perhaps one of these children was the Peter of East Meon who died in 1659.[56]His children, William, Anthony, Bonny, Argentine, and Anne, were born to his wife, Argentine, whose name suggests that she at least had seafaring connections (or beef!).

There died at Whaddon, Wiltshire, in 1642, Edith 'Terrill alias Mardish', the widow of Christopher Terrill, who had two sons, Thomas Terrill, recently deceased (he left eight children, at least two of which, Samuel and William, were boys), and Richard 'Marditch alias Terrill'.[57] This Richard, then described as 'Terrell alias Mardridge', who died in 1678[58] left three children, a daughter, Elisabeth, also referred to as Tirrell alias Mardridge, but two sons, John Tirrell and Richard Tirrell, without any alias. John received a messuage at Frampton-upon-Severn, Gloucestershire, while Richard inherited a tenement at Barton Regis, in the environs of Bristol, and also in Gloucestershire.

The will of Edward Terrill, 1685, a scrivener of the city of Bristol[59] made bequests to the three children of his dead brother, Nicholas, who were said to be 'beyond sea in the island of St. Christoper', where presumably their father had been living. Bristol,

an important port from earliest times, stands on the borders of Gloucestershire and Somerset, and in both of these counties there were Tyrells.

In Somerset, William Terrill, of Langport-Eastover, a card-maker, referred to sons William, John and Roger in his will of 1649;[60] Edward Tyrrell of Dunster left four sons, John, George, Charles, and Hugh, in 1650;[61] Henry Terrill of Minehead, clothier, recorded a son, Arthur, in 1616,[62] and in 1667, Michael Tirrell of Bratton, in the parish of Minehead left four daughters and a son, Michael, all under the age of 21, and referred also to his brother, Richard, and his uncle, John Tirrell.[63]

Gloucestershire was the home of Thomas Terrill of Horsley, clothworker,[64] 1687, with seemingly no sons of his own, but 'kinsmen' Francis Terrill and John Terrill of Exeter, and Elizabeth Terrill, also of Exeter (was she sister or wife of one of the aforementioned?), and also Francis and William, two of the sons of William Terrill of Tetbury, Gloucestershire. The Exeter relations of this Thomas may be significant when account is taken of the will in 1650 of William Tirrell, a merchant of Pinhoe, Devon, a small village some three miles from Exeter.[65] Although he mentions only two grand-daughters by his son, Moses, and one daughter of his own, he could well have had brothers and nephews who were not beneficiaries in his will.

Of sufficient worth to have had his will registered in 1689, but apparently with no rank in the navy, was Samuel Terrell 'belonging to their Majesties ship Dyamond'.[66] He left small sums to his three children (unnamed) but makes no mention of the place of abode of his family. One would imagine that if he had been anything more than a common seaman he would have described himself in his will by his calling or trade, but in the absence of any such clue the only possibility seems to be that he had been pressed into the fleet and perhaps died at sea.

From Hampshire and Wiltshire, Devonshire, Gloucester and Somerset, appear Tyrells, mostly tradesmen, from the late 16th to the late 17th centuries,[67] but none showing any positive connection with the American continent; perhaps the nearest—and one certainly indicating emigration to the New World across the Atlantic—is found in the will of Edward Terrill of the city of Bristol, scrivener, in 1685,[59] which relates that the three children of his deceased brother, Nicholas, are 'beyond sea in the island of St. Christopher'.

Thus, enquiry into this period of 16th- and 17th-century England produces many Tyrells in many places, but fails to provide any common links, and carries no further the connection between the Old and New World families. While it has been shown that some of the 'traditions' are clearly spurious, others cannot, for want of evidence, be gainsaid, and so for the present at least the matter must rest with the somewhat unsatisfactory verdict of 'not proven'.

Chapter Ten

HERALDRY AND THE TYRELLS

The Origin and Meaning of Arms

IN CONSIDERING THE HISTORY of any noteworthy family, coats of arms cannot fail to enter into the picture, adding a visual dimension to the story and providing, in a literal sense as well as metaphorically, a splash of colour to lighten the greyness of the narrative. With this in mind, a brief outline of the development and purpose of heraldry would be useful in considering the arms attributed to the family of Tyrell.

However, this is an undertaking of some magnitude, though *Boutell's Heraldry,* edited by Scott-Giles and Brooke-Little, *Heraldic Cadency,* by Robert Gayre, and *Heralds of England,* by Sir Anthony Wagner, are recommended reading for a start.

Modern heraldry is an archaism, providing a colourful element in a world of drab uniformity, but no longer having any practical value; yet in its inception it was essentially practical, its aesthetic enhancement being a result of man's artistic leanings. Heraldry is defined as *The Systematic Use of Hereditary Devices centred on the Shield.*[1]

It is not possible to over-emphasise the importance of these two words *Systematic* and *Hereditary,* separating, as they do, the science of heraldry from any preceding use of cognitive devices. The other vital point is that coats of arms are *distinctive,* that is to say, no two men can bear the same arms at the same time, and also *personal,* in that the arms belong to one man and *not* the whole eponymous family. The modern-day purveyor of 'family coats' may provide his customers with an attractive colourful design to display upon their walls, but this pertains to them no more than would an abstract print or reproduction old master: there is no such thing as a family coat of arms.

This system called heraldry, or armory, came into being throughout western Europe during the first part of the 12th century, which infers an unusual intercourse at this time of knights from different sovereign states, and such is most readily observable in the Crusades, which commenced at the beginning of this century. The earliest recorded heraldic shields appear during the period between the first and second Crusades, one example being the chevron arms of De Clare on the seal of Gilbert, Earl of Hertford, appended to the charter confirming the sale of the Manor of Langham by Hugh Tirel (q.v.).

It is apparent that, encased in chain mail and armour, one man looks much like another, and the device borne upon his shield, and repeated on his surcoat, therefore supplied the necessary function of making him readily recognisable to his fellow knights and to his own followers. His coat must therefore be different from that of any other man, and in an age when very few could read or write, including the

armigerous knight, the same symbols as borne on his shield automatically came to be used upon his signet or seal, as a recognisable 'signature' of one particular man or the fief he held. What more logical, therefore, than the inheritance of this particular coat by his son when he became the new lord of the estate. The arms, then, descended in the male line with the fief, but continued so to do after the practical feudal function had ceased, remaining an 'honour' appertaining to the head of the family.

The actual mechanism of assumption of a coat of arms in the early days is unknown: did each man, when the 'fashion' commenced, just adorn his shield with whatever took his fancy, or were all coats actually *granted* in the first instance? Certainly it very soon became recognised that arms were recorded, and probably ordained, by the heralds, who were well established in the 13th century as evidenced by the 'Statutum Armorum', a code of rules for the tournament, dating, probably, from 1267, and the existence in 1276 of 'Petrus Rex hydrandorum citra aquam de Trente', with his own 'signature' seal,[2] while from half a century back comes 'Bevis Bond, king of heralds' quoted as being involved with the Grey Friars, 'about the year 1225' by John Stow in his *Survey of London,* 1603.

Differencing

In recent years there has grown up and become accepted a formalised system of 'differencing' a man's arms to provide distinct and personal coats for each and every son, though in the past this was done in various ways in different places and different times. Differencing is simply a matter of altering the basic coat in some way to produce one separate and distinct. This can be done in several ways, such as changing the colours of the original arms; adding or subtracting some charge upon them (e.g., having three lions instead of one, etc.); the addition of an ordinary (that is to say, introducing a bar or chevron or cross, etc.); enclosing the arms in a border; or by placing one of a series of symbols in the corner of the original as a 'cadency' mark. This last is the modern method of differencing within the family and has been used for many centuries, but not with any degree of exactitude or regularity.

Impaling and Quartering

The practice of 'marshalling' or incorporating more than one coat of arms on the shield evidently commenced fairly soon after heraldry became fully established: the earliest recorded instances of dimidiation (the original form of impalement) occur in the time of Edward I (1272–1307), and the monument at Westminster to Eleanor of Castile, the wife of Edward I, dated 1291, exhibits the earliest extant quartering of arms.

For the purpose of this discussion impalement is the method of conjoining the arms of husband and wife on one shield by dividing it down the middle, the man's arms occupying the dexter side (the right-hand side as he carries the shield, but the *left* side to the beholder), and the lady's the sinister (or left) side. Originally, this was achieved by 'dimidiation' (i.e., halving) whereby the dexter half of the man's arms occupied the dexter half of the shield and the sinister half of his wife's arms the sinister half of the shield. It soon became apparent that this method, more often than not, completely destroyed the meaning of the arms (as can be seen in Plate I, 40 referred to later), so it was abandoned in favour of 'impalement' where both coats were shown complete on their respective halves of the shield.

Quartering

This literally connotes dividing the shield into four quarters, but the term has an extended meaning to embrace any number of parts, and results in such descriptions as Quarterly of 6, 8, 9, etc., in each instance the shield being sub-divided into equal pieces (or as nearly so as possible) amounting to the stated number. The main object of quartering is to incorporate into one man's arms those brought in by the heiress of another family. A man who marries an heiress bears her arms 'in pretence' since he pretends to (lays claim to) represent her family, in the absence of a male member, but his son is heir not only to his father's, but also to his mother's arms, so the two coats are incorporated in a new shield by quartering.

Strictly speaking arms should not be included if they resulted from marriages where the woman was not her family heiress. A simple example of this is provided by the arms on the ledger stone of John Keble, 1699, at Great Leighs, Essex, which bears: Quarterly, 1. (Argent) 3 bars nebuly (sable) a canton (gules), KEBLE, 2. (Argent) 2 chevrons (azure) a border engrailed (gules), TYRRELL; 3. (Sable) a bend ermine between 2 eagles displayed and double headed (or), NEWCOURT; 4. (. . .) a griffin segrant (. . .), ? Family. (III, 41.) In this coat the Tyrrell arms were derived from the marriage of his ancestor, Thomas Keble, in the latter part of the 16th century, to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Tyrrell of Gipping, who was certainly not an heiress as her family continued in the male line for another two centuries (*see* Tyrells of Gipping).

Crests

The earliest known crests are seen as a decoration—frequently employing a part or the whole of a man's shield arms—upon the fan-shaped plate on top of a helmet, but soon they were developed into three-dimensional objects, as beasts and birds, for example. Though the crest is nowadays a normal part of armorial bearings, it is generally considered that 'crests were originally a mark of special dignity, perhaps restricted to persons of a rank or status entitling them to take part in tournaments'.[3] This in itself possibly represents an intermediate stage of the development, and the whole position cannot be better summarised than in the following description.

> Crests have not, however, been generally adopted till latter years, in proof of which the more ancient arms of families, still existing, are borne without this cognizance, or badge, at the present day; and, it is more than probable, that, after their first adoption by leaders, commanders, and great men, who actually wore such cognizances in warfare, in more peacable times they were afterwards adopted by their followers and dependants, and thus became generally in use, as mere badges of distinction, and, at length, universally adopted with coat armour.[4]

Supporters

These are figures standing, usually, at each side of the shield (though it is not unknown to have but one), as it were holding it up or supporting it, and are bestial or humanoid: frequently they are dissimilar—as the lion and unicorn supporting the Royal Arms of England—but in older instances are generally like pairs. They appear to have come into use about the beginning of the 15th century, probably as a result of the practice of filling the spaces between the shield and border of a seal with some animal or monster of medieval mythology.

Knights and Knighthood

Peers of the realm have always formed, numerically, a minor part—and increasingly so over the centuries— of the total number of families bearing arms. In early feudal society the fighting men, or knights, were the wearers of 'coat armour' for the practical

purpose of mutual recognition, but in later centuries the parallel decline of military requirements and the growth and expansion of a 'middle class' of merchants and professional men was responsible for producing an expanded corpus of armigerous families, whose pretension was to wealth rather than war. It should be understood that, in this evolving structure of society, the knight did not disappear; his function and mode of life were modified and adapted to the changing patterns, eventually to emerge as the landed country squire.

The status of a knight in feudal society, as introduced into England in its most developed form by the Norman Conquest is best described by the etymology of the word 'knight', meaning, progressively: 'youth, servant, follower, man-at-arms'; he was thus a trained specialist in the art of war, beholden to and under the direction of his feudal overlord. Holding a 'knight's fee' in the time of William the Conqueror meant, literally, the obligation of providing his lord with the annual service of a knight in return for a certain grant of land, a commitment to attend the king in war for 40 days, these commencing only with the arrival of the army in the enemy's country. By the early part of the 12th century, a distinction between 'knight service' and 'knighthood' had become accepted, and it was then possible for men unfit or unwilling to fight, to hold land charged with knight service by discharging this duty in cash—payment of scutage. At this period there was a superfluity of young men trained in fighting, and many followed the 'career' of knighthood without necessarily obtaining any settlement of land.

In the 13th century the position again changed, when the landed knights found their civil duties rapidly increasing. Though exempted by scutage payments from being called from their homes to fight, they were obliged to participate in the processes of law in their home counties, conducting inquiries into disputed ownership of land, or question of local boundaries and custom; journeying to verify the excuses of litigants who pleaded illness for absence from court; and serving on juries for the rapidly expanding mass of litigation in the king's courts.

In 1234 Henry III sent a general order to the county sheriffs proclaiming that all men who held one or more knight's fees of the king-in-chief should procure arms and cause themselves to be knighted. This, of course, did not encompass the many who held knight's fees, not of the king-in-chief but by enfeoffment of one of the barons, nor was it in itself very effective, due to granting of exemptions, though these did bring in a monetary return. From the military standpoint, it was still necessary to have a corpus of knights available for war; foot soldiers and archers could be hired, but knights were required to officer them, and companies of mounted knights were still an essential part of the army on the field of battle.

Later in the century, Edward I ordered (1282) that all men worth £30 of land should provide themselves with horse and armour ready for military service, though they were not therein obliged to be knighted; but 10 years later (1292) he lowered to £40 the income level for compulsory knighthood. These efforts by the government to maintain an outdated military form of society were augmented by the encouragement of pageantry at the dubbing ceremonies, and the enlargement of these into great social occasions by knighting groups of people containing important or royal personages. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these occasions was in 1306, when the ageing King Edward I, anxious to recruit knights for the Scottish war with Robert Bruce, promised to bear the costs of the ceremony for any who wished to be knighted

in company with his son, Edward, Prince of Wales, an offer accepted by 267 young men who travelled to London to be dubbed knight in Westminster Abbey.

It is manifest that knighthood was, in the main, not an honour conferred for meritorious conduct, but the commitment to provide a service—originally entirely military, but progressively becoming largely administrative. Possession of a coat of arms is an essential element of knighthood, but the inheritance of arms does not, conversely, carry the honour of knighthood, nor even the entitlement to take this up. Qualification derives from a man's worth, his holding of a knight's fee. The value of this naturally varied at different times; in the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) this was reckoned at £15 per annum in land;[4] it was increased to £20 by Edward I (1272-1307), and eventually doubled to £40 per annum by Edward VI (1547-1553).

Tudor England saw the rise to prominence of many new men from the merchant and professional classes who acquired lands and estates and procured patents of arms, thereby producing a rapid expansion of the armigerous families; and along with the decrease in the value of money this made many more men eligible for knighthood. Many of the 'new rich' took up the option as a further symbol of their status in society, but the considerable numbers who did not do so made it financially expedient for Edward VI and Elizabeth to demand the attendance of all those who might be compelled to receive the title of knight, and compound with those who declined it. Some idea of the size of the problem can be gained from the observation that Charles I, by a similar manoeuvre in 1630 enhanced his treasury to the extent of about £100,000. The democratic notions of the emergent middle class were shortly to crystallise into the parliamentary party which finally disposed of the moribund remains of feudal sovereignty, but prior to the Civil War knight service was altogether abolished, as a result of this levy upon the class entitled to take up the honour.

Subsequently, knighthood was conferred by the sovereign for merit of any kind, without regard to property qualification. This, in effect, replaced the feudal device of making a knight a 'banneret' as reward for services above and beyond those expected of him. Because of the similarity of title and status, the banneret virtually speaking disappeared with the emergence of the baronet, though it will be seen that there are considerable differences between the two. Appearing during the later part of the 13th century, the distinction of banneret, in its established form, was a military honour always conferred on the field of battle—'the person to be thus rewarded presented his flag to the king or general, who received it, and when he had cut off the train or skirt of it, returned it to its owner square, in which form it was the badge of his new dignity'. Furthermore, 'the title gave a right to bear supporters, and as a badge to distinguish them, their arms were emblazoned on a banner placed in the paws of the supporters'.[4]

The title of banneret was not hereditary, being extinguished with the death of the man whose deeds had merited it, and accordingly the right to supporters also lapsed, and the son would revert to the usual family coat borne by his father before advancement.

A baronet differs from this in all respects but the similarity of name and his status between knight and peer. The title did not allow the use of supporters, it was hereditary, and far from being an award for outstanding service it was an 'honour' that was literally purchased. Baronetcy was a new title of hereditary knighthood introduced by James I as a means of replenishing the Royal Exchequer. The royal

instruction 'for the admission of proper persons to the rank of baronet', by its protestations of nought but virtue and patriotism only reinforces the notion of this title being acquired as a step-up in society.

This title symbolises the social revolution which had occurred since medieval feudalism, when a landholder worth more than a certain annual sum was eligible to take up knighthood, but because of the responsibilities and commitments attendant upon this honour, frequently refrained from so doing. Notwithstanding, his position in society was clear and unassailable. Not so, however, for the landed gentlemen of Stuart times, for by then a whole new 'middle' class had grown up, largely derived from the younger sons of armigerous families and maintaining their pattern of living. Coming upon the heels of the Tudor period when it was fashionable for newly-landed men to acquire armorial bearings and attempt to link these with ancient families, James I's institution of the baronetcy was a very timely and astute move, providing the means whereby a man could further enhance, in society, his position and that of his family by purchasing this honorific.

Tyrell Arms

This necessarily brief outline of the significance of armorial bearings provides an adequate backcloth upon which to review the various coats of arms associated with the name of Tyrell. These are derived from many sources, such as funeral monuments in churches, shields of arms on houses, and in window glass; records of the Visitations of the Tudor Heralds; enrolments of knighthood; funerary registers; probate records; and rolls of arms drawn up on specific occasions, as for instance a tournament. All the arms described in this section, however, must carry a reservation of 'not proven' unless a definitive source is adduced.

A. The earliest recorded arms attributed to Tyrell depict a white rampant lion on a blue background, belonging to the line traced in the section on the 'Welsh marches area', and on which there are three variants:

(a) With an indented or engrailed border of gold (in early coats indented and engrailed were usually interchangeable terms). This is Roger Tyrel, 1308 Dunstable Tournament Roll; Sir Roger Tyrel, Roll of 1308–14 (Papworth); Roger Tyrel, Powell Roll of *c.* 1345–51; Tirrel co. Herefordshire t. Ed. III (Papworth) (see Plate I, 2), and the arms on the knight's shield at Dilwyn would tally with this.

(b) the same as (a), but with the lion's tongue red, t. Ed. I (1272–1307)[6] See Plate I, 3.

(c) azure a lion rampant argent, a bend indented gules 'of co. Hereford' (Papworth) (Plate I, 4).

Two other variations are found in the quartering of Acton and Hopton, but these must be incorrect as previously explained. However, this points out one possible source of error occurring in arms attributed to a particular family in an ordinary, and not readily capable of verification.

The quartering in the arms of Acton in the Visitation of 1623, reported as representing Tyrell is 'azure a lion rampant argent within a bordure or'; that is, a straight-edged border, not indented, and these were the arms of 'Sir Andrew Monhault' and 'Aiger de Mohaut' in the Calais Bannerets Roll of 1245–48 (Papworth)

This raises the question of where these lion arms came from in the first place. We have already seen that the origin of ancient coats is a matter of speculation, but patronage is known to have been a factor in some cases; the follower of some feudal overlord, being knighted by or at the instigation of his superior, might well chose, and consider it an honour so to do, to take the essential feature of this man's coat of arms and fashion his own new ones by differencing.

The Tyrell arms of Sir Roger could, on this basis, be those of the Monhauts changed by indenting the border. There is a possibility that they were in some similar way derived from the arms of another. Papworth lists over fourteen hundred coats with one lion as their main element, and some 65 depicting a rampant lion with an engrailed border, and of these several are attributed to families in the Herefordshire/ Shropshire area. The Monhaut coat mentioned above occurs without its border, i.e., azure a lion rampant argent, Robert de Manhaut, 1300,[7] and in this same roll are found: Gules a lion rampant or, Richard, Earl of Arundel; and Or a lion rampant purpure, Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.

The effigy at Dilwyn is suggested by the county histories to be in remembrance of a Talbot, though they are not able to produce one connected with this place. The evidence, however, indicates that this is an effigy of Sir Roger Tyrel, but carved in stone and uncoloured, the arms on his shield could be those of a Talbot, e.g., Gules a lion rampant within a border engrailed (or recercle) or, alternatively, the same within a border engrailed erminois, or any other of the 65 listed families. It is possible to suggest that the Tyrell arms might have been derived from those of Lacy, a powerful family with which they had strong connections in the Welsh marches and during the invasion of Ireland. The Lacy coat of 1300 was noted above, and variations of this are found with borders.

The association of the lion arms with the Tyrells of Herefordshire is established without question, but Papworth also records the same arms (az. a lion ramp. arg. a bord. engr. or) for Tirrell or Tirrel, co. Somerset and Tirrell, co. Hertfordshire. The source of these references is unknown but they probably occur in documents relating to some other family, as for instance the dubious pedigree noted earlier in Suffolk (*see* 'Eastern Counties' section), which records Tyrell arms of az. a lion ramp. arg. In default of further information it is not possible to decide whether these arms were borne by members of the Herefordshire family living in these other counties, or, having been carried as quarterings for many years by another family, the provenance of the original Tyrell owner had become lost.

Another series of arms attributed to Tyrell or Terrell, found in ordinaries but impossible to locate from lack of evidence, could be considered as being an ancient coat of an early extinct line, since it does not occur in the historical record of the family (Plate I, 5, 6, 7). This is based on a leopard's head, and as there is some representative confusion in early heraldry between lions and leopards, it might be thought that here could be another differenced coat of the Herefordshire Tyrells. The three shields themselves are undoubtedly very closely related, and could possibly be those of three brothers, viz.:

1. Arg. a leopard's head gu. (the eldest son and heir to his father's arms.)
2. Arg. a leopard's head jessant a fleur de lis gu. (the second son who kept the tinctures of his paternal coat but added a fleur de lis to the leopard's head?)

3. Or a leopard's head jessant a fleur de lis gu. (the third son who further differenced by changing the field from silver to gold). This coat, on the other hand, might originate from the descendants of 2. One source[4] attributes these arms to a Tyrell of Somerset.

Two other ancient coats, unlike any of the aforegoing and not given any geographical placing, are:

1. Gules a fess and in chief three annulets argent (Plate I, 8), Roger Tirell, Acre Roll (dated 1192 but ? later); Roger Tirol, *c.* 1262–92 (Papworth); and Roger Tirel, 1217–72. Henry III Roll.[8] It has been suggested in the Herefordshire section that these arms might belong to that family, mainly because they were recorded, and no others are evident at that date. This particular coat does not readily suggest a link with others, but it might be connected with 'gu. a fess argent between three crosses crosslet or' (Plate I, 10), which retains the basis of a red shield with a white fess, but instead of three white rings on the upper red section has three crosses, placed two above and one below. Once again of unknown place and time, this shield appears to tie in with another group of arms which are mostly shown to be of Irish Tyrrells, and it would not be surprising to find similar arms being borne by the early Tyrells of Ireland and Herefordshire, in view of the virtual certainty that they were of the same stock.
2. Another totally different coat occurs in the late 15th century, described as 'Tyrell bery burley gowlys and gold wyth vi cross pomlets of gold'.[9] (Plate I, 9.) At this time the Tyrells of Heron are well established and historical references are entirely to them and their emerging secondary lines, all of which used the chevron arms (see later). This shield, therefore, belongs to a man of some other family and an absence of contenders in England suggests the arms to be those of a descendant of the Irish branch, and indeed affinities with Irish coats are apparent.

B. Irish Coats of Arms (Plate I, 10–27)

Grouped together in this section are all the arms recorded as belonging to Tyrells of Ireland, together with various 'odds and ends' which seem to have associative characteristics with them, and no affinities elsewhere. It is not intended, or feasible, in this discourse to entertain and evaluate the derivation and relationship of all these, and a brief notice to them must suffice.

1. Gules a fess argent between three crosses crosslet or, Plate I, 10, locale unknown, might be, as we have seen, an early Irish coat derived from one associated with Herefordshire in the 12th/13th centuries, or from a common progenitor. A new shield is formed by adding a chief argent (Plate I, 11), recorded as 'of Ireland',[10] and having a variant with silver instead of gold crosses. The addition to this last of a demi-lion sable on the chief then produces a further distinct coat (Plate I, 12), locale unknown. Similarly, argent on a fess gules two crosses crosslet or and one in base barry of the second (Plate I, 13), and argent on a fess gules two crosses crosslet or and in base an anchor of the second (Plate I, 14), both of Ireland (Papworth) are likely to be further differences of a common basic coat.

Vert on a chief gules a demi-lion rampant or, and the same with the lion issuant (Plate I, 15), both attributed to Tirrell of Hampshire (Papworth), and Vair on a chief gules a demi-lion rampant issuant or (Papworth) of unknown provenance, all feature a demi-lion in chief on a shield which is otherwsie largely featureless, but which might be a link between those with and without this charge; and another more or less on its own is barry of six argent and gules a lion passant sable (Plate I, 16), given as of Ireland (Burke). Although the lion passant does not appear elsewhere, this coat produces the basic shield of six bars argent and gules, and assuming such a paternal coat it might well be differenced in stages by various means, for instance by adding charges to the bars gules, and turning the argent into ermine, thus producing Plate I, 19, 20, which are distinguished only by the total number of crosses. These are again Irish coats, the second one belonging to William Tyrell, merchant, died 1595 (Burke). Plate I, 17, locale unknown, has the uppermost ermine bar expanded into a chief, while Plate I, 21, locale unknown, bears the same charges as Plate I, 20, but reverses the order, six bars gules and ermine, etc., instead of six bars ermine and gules, etc. A little imagining can readily integrate Plate I, 18, locale unknown, into an overall scheme of differencing among Irish Tyrells. Similarly, the six Irish coats depicted in Plate I, 22-27 are recognisably variations on an established theme. (The crest should, of course, surmount a helmet, but for convenience this has been omitted.)

C. The Chevron Arms

There can be little doubt that the Essex Tyrells, whoever were their forebears, formed their arms from those of the powerful family of de Clare with which they were closely associated, but there is no certainty of what the original arms were, nor how they came to be differenced. The ongoing coat of argent two chevrons azure within a border engrailed gules appears on record only in the 15th century, attributed to 'an Essex knight', Henry VI Roll,[8] and 'Sir Robert Tyrrell, t. Ed. IV'.[11] We know nothing of the arms borne by any of the early members of the Heron family; 'an Essex knight' is not very specific, and there is some doubt as to who was 'Sir Robert'—possibly he was Robert of Warley (q.v.). The earliest extant representation which I can adduce occurs on the 1422 slab at East Horndon to Dame Alice, the wife of Sir John, knight of Henry V and Henry VI. The Tyrell arms here shown are of two chevrons within an engrailed border, but the colours are, of course, not manifest.

In Plate I, 30 the border is shown as plain and not engrailed, but this occurs in the quarterings of the Devon family of Haydon in the 1520 Visitation (Burke), and is probably an incorrect representation of the original coat, as occurred with the Herefordshire lion arms and its border. Plate I, 33 are the arms granted in 1583 to Thomas Tyrrell of Rushton, Staffordshire,[12] the illegitimate son of George Tyrrell of Thornton, which reverses the colours of his paternal coat to create a difference. Any discussion, then of the early form of the arms centres around those depicted in Plate I, 28, 29, 31, 32 and 35.

The fundamental question is whether the border was included in the original coat, and was dropped by a cadet to produce Plate I, 28, or alternatively was this, the parental coat, to which a border was later added as a difference? A similar question might be asked regarding Plate I, 29 and 32, but the latter is dated 1665, belonging to Charles Tyrrell, then buried in Dublin; quite clearly, though, his arms bear no

resemblance to those of the Irish Tyrells, being derived from a common source with th Heron arms. The earlier counterpart, without the border (Plate I, 29), is ascribed to Suffolk (Papworth, Berry and Burke), but of undetermined date. Likewise Plate I, 28, also of undetermined date, is ascribed to Essex and Norfolk (Papworth, Berry and Burke), and as neither of these is met with among later records it would appear that they were no longer in existence. However, a note of caution on this point is surely introduced by the record of Plate I, 32, in 1665: this man's forebears, armigerous perhaps for several centuries, appear to have escaped historical notice, or at the most occur as 'oddments' here and there, with their arms completely unrecorded.

To return to fundamentals: it would seem from the chronology of the records that an unbordered coat was probably the original, and this would amalgamate best with the simplest and, maybe of expectation, most likely shield formed from that of de Clare. It would be reasonable to reduce the three chevrons to two in consideration of the lowlier status of the Tyrells as feudal vassals, and as to the colouring, in heraldry there are two metals, gold and silver, and two main colours, red and blue. Thus, using the alternative in each case would change the red chevrons on a gold field (or three chevrons gules; de Clare) to blue chevrons on a silver field.

It has been noted that this coat—argent two chevrons azure—is attributed to Tyrells of Essex and Norfolk, which would agree with earlier suggestions concerning the origin of the Heron family in Norfolk, and the possibility of Hugh of Manyngton being the link. If this Hugh was not the chief heir, as appears possible from the evidence, then a further step can be taken in explanation of the arms. Thus, the East Anglian family, mainly concerned with Norfolk, had the original arms of argent two chevrons azure, and Hugh (or a progenitor of his) differenced these with the border engrailed gules, and this descended with the Tyrells established in Essex. The other early variety, argent two chevrons sable, presumably was taken by another scion of the family—probably at an earlier date—who settled in Suffolk, and some of the Tyrells found thereabouts in later centuries may have been descendants, lacking any notice of connection with the Gipping branch. The other coat in the group under consideration, Plate I, 31, locale unknown, is obviously another differencing of this particular line, similar to Plate I, 32, already mentioned.

Differencing in Later Coats

It is clear that the various branches deriving from the main Heron stock did not consistently bear properly differenced arms. There are references to such changes occurring in the junior lines: Plate I, 34, which bears 'a martlet sable for difference', is recorded on the arms of Thomas Tyrrell of Gipping, t. Henry VIII,[13] and also in the Suffolk Visitation of 1668 for another Thomas of Gipping, who died in 1676. Some confusion is caused by the record of the knighting of Sir Thomas of Gipping in 1513 (presumably the same as given as t. Henry VIII), which states the arms were differenced by a martlet or, with a martlet sable as difference on the boar's head crest.[14] This, however, must be incorrect as, apart from the fact that cadency differences such as martlets are usually black, it is contrary to the rules of heraldry to place one metal upon another, so that a gold martlet on a silver field would be out of the question. On the other hand, Sir John of Gipping, knighted 1553, is

stated to have borne quarterly Tyrell and Coggeshall undifferenced, but with the crest differenced by a martlet sable, and painted in the margin of the Probate enrolment of his will in 1574 is the plain coat of argent two chevrons azure a border engrailed gules.[15] and the early 19th-century hatchment in Gipping church again bears no difference mark. Similarly, the Tyrell quarter on the Keble slab at Great Leighs (*v.s.*) is the undifferenced coat.

The tomb of Richard Tyrell at Ashdon, Essex, 1566, has his quartered arms shown with a crescent for difference, and this coat is given in the Essex Visitation of 1552, but the Sir Robert Tyrrell of t. Edward IV (*v.s.*), with the plain family arms, also appears to have belonged to this line of the Tyrells of Warley. Edmund, the last of the Tyrells of Beeches, who died in 1575, is shown with the quartered arms of Tyrell, Borgate, Flambard, and Coggeshall, and a mollet for difference.[16] Here the family coat has been modified, but by whom? Was the mollet added to the first of the line, William, or was it included as difference by Edmund's father, Jasper, a younger son of William?

Impalements

In the general survey of arms it was noticed that it was customary for a man to place his wife's arms alongside his own on the shield, and according to this precept the various coats illustrated in this section have been constructed. It must be pointed out that some of these are conjectural in that, lacking a direct reference to a particular wife's arms, recourse has been made to try and determine these from ordinaries. In some instances it is possible to say that those reproduced are her parental arms, but in others only a probability or even possibility can be suggested, where, for instance, there are several coats attributed to her family name, but nothing to indicate from which branch she came. In each case the evidence for the illustrated coat is given, and doubt expressed where this exists. A few of the impalements are actually recorded, either on monuments or in documents as, for instance, that of Sir John of Heron and his wife, Dame Alice Coggeshall, 1422, which provides the earliest notice of these Tyrell arms. This one is actually a dimidiation, the original form of impalement, from which it is possible to interpret the two coats only by knowing each separately, and well illustrates the reasons for ceasing dimidiation in favour of impalement. In fact, the dimidiation is drawn as it should have been with Tyrell on the dexter side, and not as inscribed on Dame Alice's slab, already discussed. The scheme adopted is to display the conjugal coats of successive heirs of the various branches: where a particular man's arms are recorded as a quartering they are given thus, but otherwise the basic Tyrell coat is used. The Gipping family is several times reported with a martlet for difference, so this has been included in all their coats.

Quarterings

Shown separately are a group of recorded quarterings, placed thus more for the sake of comparison and clarity. They could have been incorporated within the impalement scheme, as they occur as impalements, but the consequent reduction to half size makes for difficulty with shields of many quarterings.

Hatchments

At one time, mostly in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was customary to display a dead person's arms outside his house in a particular form known as a hatchment, and subsequently some of these became hung up inside the church and remain to this day. There are various rules regarding hatchments, but basically it is a lozenge-shaped board upon which were displayed the conjugal arms, together with crest, supporters and motto, if such were borne, usually surrounded by simulated material in artistic folds. The background to the shield is considered dimidiated and refers to the appropriate partner of the marriage—dexter, male and sinister, female—and is shaded black to indicate which is dead. Thus, if the man died and his wife survived him, the dexter would be black and the sinister white, and contrariwise if the wife died first, while a hatchment for the second partner's decease would have a completely black background. In Plate III, 42 is shown an 'invented' hatchment for Mary, Countess of Arran, the last of the Tyrells of Heron. The arms, supporters and crest are those of her husband, and as he survived her the dexter background is white. As heiress of her family the Tyrell arms are born as an escutcheon of pretence and not impaled. Often the motto was replaced by 'Resurgam', and instead of the crest women frequently had a cherub or a death's head above the shield, but for simplicity the full achievement is displayed here.

The Arms of Christobella

A rather unusual armorial coat is displayed on the funerary monument at Grendon Underwood of Christobella, the heiress of the Tyrells of Castlethorpe. Not an impalement in the ordinary way, it is, in fact, formed by the arms of her three husbands in pale, with Tyrell borne as an escutcheon of pretence. The arms are carved on the monument and so can be interpreted despite their being incorrectly tinctured in recent years. Note.—Even allowing for the possibility of wrong colouring at an earlier date, they are *not* as described in Lipscombe's *History of Buckinghamshire.* Correctly tinctured, as shown in Plate III, 20, the impaled arms are:

1. Sa. a lion passant and in chief three helmets or. Knappe (Papworth), for John Knap of Cumnor, Berkshire, her first husband.
2. Sa. three pick-axes arg. Piggott (Papworth), for John Pigot of Doddershall, her second husband.
3. Az. three lions rampant or. Fiennes. (Papworth), for Richard Fiennes, Viscount Saye and Sele, her third husband.

The inexplicable item is the 'border' around the Tyrell shield, which cannot be dismissed as a latter-day painter's fancy as it is clearly carved on the monument. The consideration that it was put there in a flight of fancy by the monument-maker after Christobella'a death is negated by the appearance of the same bordered Tyrell arms—as an escutcheon of pretence—carved upon the monument of John Pigot in the same church, and erected by Christobella herself according to the inscription. It is surely inconceivable that she would allow to be erected a monument upon which her arms were incorrectly displayed; but this serves only to guarantee the authenticity of the border without solving the problem.

It might be thought that the border, with eight martlets, represented a shield upon which Tyrell was placed in pretence, for instance, that of her first husband, but there is no record of a Knap coat in any way resembling this conjectured shield, which might be . . . nine martlets . . .: or a field, charged or uncharged, with martlets in orle (arranged around the edge like a border). A charged border was sometimes used in the past to add the essentials of an important maternal coat where it could not legitimately be quartered by her heirs, but once again there are no families in Christobella's ancestry whose arms resemble the possible composition of such a shield. The only apparent explanation, then, is that her grandfather, Peter, the first baronet, or Thomas, her father, the second baronet, added a border to their arms; or possibly Christobella herself did so as a difference because of the baronetcy. As to the tinctures this should bear, it is largely a matter of guesswork. Clearly the field should not be gules as painted at the moment, as it then merges with the engrailed border of the original arms, forming a wider band upon which the martlets are then not set out symmetrically, and, furthermore, there is a clear line of division between the two on both shields as carved at Grendon Underwood. Perhaps the most likely would be an azure field, repeating the colour of the chevrons, upon which the martlets might be or, on the basis of the most commonly used combinations being the most likely to be found. For clarity it is left untinctured on the illustration.

'Female Impalements'

Under this heading are shown six coats of Tyrell ladies and their husbands to whom monuments are on record, in addition to those of Mary and Christobella already discussed.

Plate III, 34. Sable a chevron between three leopard's heads or, Wentworth; impaling Tyrell. There are stone effigies at Wethersfield, Essex, to Sir Roger Wentworth and his wife Ann ?d. of Sir James of Gipping, 1534.

Plate III, 35. At Stantonbury, Buckinghamshire, where the church is now derelict and collapsed, a slab with the arms (as noted in *County Histories*) Quarterly 1 and 4, argent an eagle displayed sable, 2 and 3, argent on two bars gules six martlets or, 3 and 3. Temple; impaling Tyrell. Sir Peter Temple of Stantonbury and Elinor, daughter if Sir Timothy of Oakley, 1671.

Plate III, 36. Carved on a panel on the altar tomb at Marsworth, Buckinghamshire. Argent on a fess dancetty sable three leopard's heads jessant de lis or, West; impaling Tyrell. Edmund West and Theodosia, daughter of Sir Toby of Thornton, 1618.

Plate III, 37. In Victorian window glass (*c.* 1850) at Thornton Hall. Argent a bend sable between three ogresses, Cotton; with Tyrell in an escutcheon of pretence. Dr. William Cotton and Hester Maria, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles, Bart., of Thornton.

Plate III, 38. Remains of brass at Watton, Hertfordshire. Gules a fess chequy or and sable between six crosses pattee argent. Boteler, impaling Tyrell. John Boteler, 1514, and three wives; Katherine, daughter of Thomas Acton, Dorothy, daughter of William Tyrell, Esq., of Gipping; Margaret, daughter of Henry Belknap, Esq.

Plate III, 39. Brass at Hempstead, Essex. Argent fretty sable on a chief gules three mullets or. Huntingdon, impaling Tyrell, with a cinqfoil for difference. Thomas Huntingdon, 1492, and wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Tyrell of Beeches.

Heron Impalements

1. James and Margaret Heron. Tyrell impaling: az. three herons arg. (Plate I, 36). As shown in the shield of nine quarterings (Plate III, 31), the Visitation of 1634 gives for Heron: gu. a fess between three herons arg. No earlier instances have come to light of Heron being included in quarterings, and so this one of late date may well be inaccurate if a Heron coat was suddenly to be included. Several coats with herons are discernible for various families, but that used in this illustration is given in a roll of 1308–14, for Sir John Heron (Papworth), probably the brother of Margaret.

2. Thomas the elder and Alice Blaund. quarterly arg. and gu., on a bend sable three eagles displayed or. There are the arms given as of Hue de Blunt, 1277–87, Sir Huge de Blount, 1308–14, of Essex (Papworth), and probably therefore the correct ones (Plate I, 37).

3. Thomas the younger and Alice d'Adeleigh. Chequy or and sable (?). In association with the brass inscription plates to Sir Thomas at Downham is a brass shield etched chequy (colouring unknown), but this coat I am unable to verify from ordinaries. Glover's ordinary, however, gives: barry of six ermine and gules six crosslets or, Tyrell and Daundeleigh. This is one of the Irish coats seen earlier (Plate I, 19), and was there clearly Tyrell. It does not seem right for the two families to have the same coat, so perhaps this features in a quartering with some other arms and has been misinterpreted. There are, however, two other coats given in Glover for Daundeleigh: arg. three bars gu. between seven crosses crosslet or; and arg. on three bars gu. six cross crosslets or.; both of which are variations of the first, which makes the problem more difficult. It seems on balance that the shield at Downham may be the correct one (Plate I, 38).

4. Walter and Eleanor Flambard. Gu. on a chevron engrailed arg. three dolphins naiant embowed vert, Flambert, Essex (Papworth) (Plate I, 39). Somewhere about this time the arms of Swinford were picked up by the Tyrells, and where this is used in the quarterings it occurs between Borgate and Flambard, but Coggeshall, which was taken in subsequent to Flambard does not invariably follow this coat. It would seem, then, that no reliance can be placed upon the order in the quarterings to state just where either Borgate or Swinford came from. Sir John, after the death of Dame Alice Coggeshall, married again, to Catherine . . ., and it is possible that she came from one or other of these families. The other coat might have come in by marriage to Walter of Tweed—the suggested father of Walter, who married Eleanor Flambard; alternatively, James had a first wife, Alice, prior to his marriage with Margaret Heron. Numbers II, 14 and 15, are impalements for the presumed marriages of Tyrell with Swinford and Borgate respectively.

5. Sir John and Alice Coggeshall. Arg. a cross between four escallops sable, Coggeshall, Essex (Papworth) (Plate I, 40). Shown dimidiated as on the Dame Alice slab at East Horndon, but is fully illustrated in several quartered coats.

6. Thomas and Ann Marmey. Gu. a lion rampant guardant arg. Marney (Papworth). Shield above tomb at East Horndon (Plate I, 14).

7. Sir William and Elinor Darcy. Arg. three cinquefoils gu. These are the main arms of Darcy, of which there are several differences. Recorded thus for Elinor in glass at Long Melford church. Note.—Tyrell is shown with a label, the differencing of the eldest son during his father's lifetime. Sir William predeceased his father (Plate I, 42).

8. Sir Thomas and Anne Devereux, first wife. Arg. a fess and in chief three torteaux, Devereux (Vis. 1552) (Plate I, 43).

9. Sir Thomas and Beatrice Cockayne, second wife. Arg. three cocks gu. Cockayne, Hertfordshire (Papworth) (Plate I, 44).

10. Thomas and Constance Blount. ? Barry nebuly of eight, or and sable, Blount (Vis. 1634), Blount, Tittenhanger, Hertfordshire (Papworth). *See* note on Blount arms under Tyrells of Thornton (Plate I, 45).

11. John and Anne Browne. Arg. 2 chevrons sa. on a canton ermine an annulet sa (?). These are the arms of Browne, Lord Mayor of London, 1438 and 1448, which seems the likely connection (see text). It is possibly worth commenting on this coat as it is basically that of the ? early Tyrells of Norfolk, differenced by the canton, which may suggest an earlier intermarriage between these families (Plate I, 46).

12. Sir Henry and Thomassin Gounston. Quarterly 1 and 4, arg. three bars nebuly sa. each with three bezants, on a chief gu. a chamber between two anchors or, Gounston, Essex (Papworth) 2 and 3 arg. a fret gu. bezanty, Trussell (Papworth); given thus by Vis. 1552. Thomassin's grandmother was a Trussel, so the quartering is her father's coat (Plate I, 47).

13. Thomas and Mary Sulyard. Arg. a chevron gu. between three pheons sa., Sulliard, Essex (Papworth) (Plate I, 48).

14. Sir John and Joyce Baker, first wife. Quarterly (1) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Swinford, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall, (6) Tyrell; impaling az. on a fess engrailed between three heron's heads or, ducally collared gu., three cinquefoils gu. Baker (Vis. 1612) (Plate II, 3).

15. Sir John and Elizabeth Croke, second wife. Quarterly, as above, impaling arg. on a fess nebuly az. between three annulets gu. seven bezants. (Vis. 1612.) These are the second arms of Croke which appear on the monument at Chilton to Sir John, Elisabeth's father (Plate II, 2).

16. Sir John and Elisabeth Croke: gu. a fess between six martlets arg. Croke, Chilton, Buckinghamshire (Papworth). As on monument at Chilton to Elisabeth (Plate II, 1).

17. Thomas and Margaret Filliol. Vair a canton gu. Filliol (Vis. 1612) (Plate II, 4).

18. Sir John and Elisabeth Evelyn, first wife. Az. a griffin passant or, a chief of the last. Evelyn, West Dean, Wiltshire (Berry) (Plate II, 5).

19. Sir John and Martha Washington, second wife. Arg. two bars and in chief three mollets gu. Washington (Papworth). Monument at East Horndon (Plate II, 6).

20. Sir John, Bart., and Lettice Coppin, first wife. Per pale az. and gu. three boar's heads couped and a chief or. Coppin (Papworth) (Plate II, 7).

21. Sir John, Bart., and Anna Yeend, second wife. I have been unable to find any arms for Yeend; perhaps the family was not armigerous (Plate II, 8).

22. Sir John, Bart., and Elisabeth Allen, third wife. (?) Per pale arg. and sa. a chevron between three talbots counterchanged. Allen, London (Papworth). There are several coats for Allen; this is one of the probable ones (Plate II, 9).

23. Sir Charles, Bart., and Martha Mildmay. Arg. three lions rampant az. Mildmay (Papworth). Monument at East Horndon (Plate II, 10).

24. Sir John, Bart., and Mary Dolliffe, first wife. Az. on a chevron or between three crescents arg. three olive sprigs vert. Dolliffe, London (Papworth). Arms on farm house at Heron (see text) (Plate II, 11).

25. Sir John, Bart., and Elisabeth Cotton, second wife. Az. an eagle displayed arg. Cotton (Papworth). The arms occur in the quartered coat on their son, Sir John's monument at East Horndon (Plate II, 12).

26. Sir John, Bart., and Mary Crispe. ? Or, on a chevron sa. five horseshoes arg. Note.—There are at least five different colour combinations, none of which can be definitely ascribed to Mary's father—Thomas, of Parbold, Lancashire, and Elden, Suffolk. Sir John's monument shows the coat '. . . on a chevron . . . five horseshoes . . ' with no trace of pigment remaining (Plate II, 13).

27. Hatchment for Mary Tyrell, Countess of Arran, ob. 1832. Gu. a fess between three crosses crosslet fitchy or. Crest: a wolf salient arg. collared and langued gu. Supporters: two horses rampant arg. Motto: In hoc signo vinces. Saunders, Visc. Gore, Earl of Arran (Berry), with an escutcheon of pretence, Tyrell (Plate III, 42).

Tyrrells of Beeches

1. William and Ann Fitz-Simon, first wife. Gu. three escutcheons arg. Fitzsimon (Papworth) (Plate II, 16).

2. William and Philippa Thornbury, second wife. Arg. a fret gu., a chief of the second. Thornbury (Papworth and Berry) (Plate II, 17).

3. John and Catherine Walden. Or a bend gu. between two cotises and six martlets vert. Walden (Papworth) (Plate II, 18).

4. Jasper and Ann Goring. Arg. (? Or) a chevron between three annulets gu. Goring, Sussex (Papworth) (Plate II, 19).

5. Edward and Alice Clovill. Arg. two (or three) chevrons sa. each charged with five nails or. Clovill, West Hanfield, Essex (Papworth) (Plate II, 20).

6. William and Elisabeth Cromer. Arg. a chevron engrailed az. between three crows proper. Cromer, Norfolk (Papworth) (Plate II, 21).

7. Edmund and Susan Cook. Quarterly (1) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Flambard, (4) Coggeshall, a mollet for difference; impaling sa. on a chevron between three bezants or three cinquefoils of the field; on a chief arg. three columbines proper. Cooke, Kent (Papworth). Monument in Rawreth church (Plate II, 22).

Tyrrells of Warley

1. Humphrey and Isabella Helion, first wife. Or a buck's head couped at the neck cabossed sa. Helyon. Wat. le Helion, 1277–87 (Papworth) (Plate II, 23).

2. Humphrey and Elizabeth Walwyn, second wife. Gu. a bend ermine within a border of the last, in chief a talbot passant or. Walwyn (Berry) (Plate II, 24).

3. Sir John and Ann Norrys. (?) Quarterly arg. and gu. two frets or, a fess az. over all. Norris or Norreys, Berkshire and Lancashire (Berry) (Plate II, 25).

4. Robert and . . . Dalston. (?) Arg. a chevron between three blackbirds' heads sa., bills or. Dalston (Papworth) (Plate II, 26).

5. John and Anne Wolley. Quarterly (1) and (6) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Swinford, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall; impaling arg. on a chevron sa. an eagle displayed arg. Wolley. (Vis. 1612) (Plate II, 27).

6. Humphrey of Shenfield and Alice Glenham. Quarterly as above impaling or a chevron between three torteaux. Glenham. (Vis. 1612) (Plate II, 28).

7. Richard of Ashdon and (? Grace) Wolley. Quarterly (1) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Flambard, (4) Coggeshall; impaling vert a fleur de lys or between two woolsacks in pale arg. enclosed by two flaunches of the third each charged with a wolf passant az. Wolley, London (Papworth). Monument at Ashdon (Plate II, 29).

Tyrells of Gipping

These are all shown with a martlet for difference, except where specifically recorded in another way.

1. William and . . . Darcy. Probably arg. three cinquefoils gu. Darcy, Essex (Papworth). The basic arms of Darcy (Plate II, 30).

2. Sir James and Anne Arundell. (?) Sa. six martlets arg. Arundell (Papworth) (Plate II, 31).

3. Sir Thomas and Margaret Willoughby. Or fretty az. Baron Willoughby of Eresby (Papworth). (Plate II, 32).

4. Sir John and Elisabeth Mondaye. Quarterly (1) Tyrrell, (2) Coggeshall, (3) Borgate, (4) Flambard; impaling per gale gu. and sa. on a cross engrailed arg. five lozenges purp. on a chief or three eagles legs erased a la quise az. Mondaye (Vis. 1561) (Plate II, 33).

5. John and . . . Sulyard. Arg. a chevron gu. between three pheons sa. Sulliard, Essex (Papworth). Presumed to be the same as that given for Thomas of Heron and Mary Sulyard (Plate II, 34).

6. John and Mary Drury. (?) Arg. on a chief vert a tau cross between two mollets pierced or. Drury (Papworth) (Plate II, 35).

7. Thomas and Mary Gray. (?) Arg. on a chevron between three storks' heads erased gu. three roses arg. Gray, Maldon, Essex (Papworth) (Plate II, 36).

8. Thomas and Anne Keble. Arg. three bars nebuly sa. a canton gu. Keble, Stowmarket (Papworth), *and see* arms on John Keble slab, 1699, at Great Leighs, Essex (Plates II, 37 and III, 41).

9. Thomas and (Harriet or Dionysia) Yelverton. (?) Arg. three lions rampant guardant and a chief gu. Yelverton, Norfolk (Papworth) (Plate II, 38).

10. Thomas and Mary Lea. Many coats listed for Lee or Lea, and no clue to which one may appertain (Plate II, 39).

11. Thomas and Keziah Hervey. Gu. on a bend arg. three trefoils slipped vert. Hervey, Ickworth, Suffolk (Papworth) (Plate II, 40).

12. Edmund and Grace Bokenham. (?) Arg. fretty az. Bokenham, Lincolnshire (Papworth) (Plate II, 41).

13. Thomas and Anne Duke . . . a chevron . . . between three birds close . . . membered gu. Duke, Benhall Lodge (Papworth); arg. a chevron between three birds close arg. membered gu. Duke, Benhall Lodge (Berry). This second is clearly incorrect (rule of metal on metal), and the second arg. should presumably read az. (Plate II, 42).

14. Edmund and Mary Sparrow, first wife. (?) Arg. three roses purp. seeded or barbed vert, a chief of the second. Sparrow, Ipswich (Papworth) (Plate II, 43).

15. Edmund and Mary Bright, second wife. Sa. a fess arg. between three escallops or. Bright, Bury St. Edmunds, 1615 (Papworth). Quartered in hatchment at Gipping (Plate II, 44).

16. Rev. Charles and Elisabeth Baker. Arg. on a saltire az. five escallops of the first, on a chief az. a lion passant arg. Baker, Elemere, co. Durham (Papworth). Impaled in hatchment at Stowmarket (1811) (Plate II, 45).

17. Charles and Elisabeth Ray. Az. on a chief indented or three martlets gu. Ray, Hawleigh, Suffolk (Papworth) (Plate II, 46).

Tyrells of South Ockendon and Thornton

1. Az. three escallops or. This coat is placed here because it is listed as 'Tirrell, South Okingdon' by Berry. Under this heading Papworth also gives the same, but in addition attributes it to three other families, which makes for some confusion. A basic shield of three escallops, ringing the colour changes (but not or on az.) is associated with the family Dacre, the earliest recorded probably being gu. three escallops arg. for Sire William de Acre, 1308–14 roll, the name clearly deriving from an ancestor at the seige of Acre, 1103. Cockle-shells were the symbol of pilgrims and as such, or a crusading memento, an early Tyrell of South Ockendon may have borne these arms. Thomas, declared the first of the line of Tyrells of South Ockendon, seems rather late in the day—mid to late 15th century—to take such a derivative coat, and furthermore, the famous Scrope v. Grosvenor controversy, concerning two men with the same arms, had occurred nearly a century previously. It would seem, therefore, that if some Tyrell did bear these arms it must certainly have been one of whom we know nothing, perhaps a younger son several generations back in the family from this point (Plate III, 1).

2. Thomas and Elisabeth Bruin. Quarterly (1) and (4) az. a cross moline or. Bruin (Papworth), (2) and (3) lozengy ermine and gu. Rokele (Papworth). Elisabeth should, logically, be represented thus as the Rokele arms were brought in by Bruin (Plate III, 2).

3. William and Elisabeth Bodley. (?) Gu. five martlets arg. on a chief indented or three crowns az. Bodley (Papworth). But, arg. five martlets, 2, 2, 1, sa. a chief az. or other similar coat might be applicable (Plate III, 3).

4. Humphrey and Jane Ingleton. Arg. a chevron between three tuns sa. flaming proper. Ingleton (Papworth). Borne as an escutcheon of pretence. This is the canting, and commoner, of the two Ingleton coats (Plate III, 4, and Plate 24).

5. George and Elisabeth Montague, first wife. Arg. three fusils gu. within a border (?engrailed) sa. Montague (Papworth) (Plate III, 5).

6. George and Margery Cook, second wife. ? arms (Plate III, 6).

7. Sir Edward and Mary Lee, first wife. Arg. a fess between three crescents sa. Lee, Quarendon, Buckinghamshire (Papworth) (Plate III, 7). Could also be the quartered coat of Lee (*see* Plate III, 32). Note.—The crescent arms occur on the monument at Hardwick, Buckinghamshire, to Sir Robert Lee, Kt., son and heir of Benedict Lee, Mary's father.

8. Sir Edward and Margaret Aston, second wife. (?) Arg. a fess and in chief three lozenges sa. Aston (Papworth). (Plate III, 8).

9. Sir Edward, Bart., and Elisabeth Kingsmill, one wife. Arg. crusilly fitchy a chevron ermines between three crosses moline sa. Kingsmill, Hampshire (Berry) (Plate III, 9).

10. Sir Edward, Bart., and Elizabeth Watson, other wife. Arg. on a chevron engrailed az. between three marlets sa. three crescents or. Watson, Rutland (Papworth) (Plate III, 10).

11. Sir Toby, Bart., and Edith Windebank, first wife. Vert on a chevron between three falcons volant or three trefoils slipped sa. Windibanke (Papworth) (Plate III, 11).

12. Sir Toby, Bart., and Lucy Barrington, second wife. Arg. three chevrons gu. a label of three points az. Barrington, Essex (Papworth) (Plate III, 12).

13. Sir Thomas, Bart., and Frances Blount. (?) Barry nebuly of eight or and sa. Blount (Papworth) (Plate III, 13).

14. Sir Harry, Bart., and Hester Blount. Arg. two bars az. an escarbuncle gu. Blount, Staffordshire (Papworth) (Plate III, 14).

Blount Arms

There are three Blount ladies married into the Tyrrell family:

1. Constance, the wife of Sir Thomas of Heron, and daughter of Sir John Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Her arms are illustrated as barry nebuly of six or and sable, the coat of the ancient family from which descended Blount, Baron Mountjoy (Papworth).

2. Frances, the wife of Sir Thomas, Bart., of Thornton, daughter of Sir Henry Blount of Tittenhanger, Hertfordshire. Illustrated as barry nebuly of eight, or and sable, for Blount of Tittenhanger (Berry).

3. Hester, the wife of Sir Harry, Bart., of Thornton, daughter of Charles Blount, esq.

In the visitation of 1612 and 1634 are given for Blount:

(a) barry nebuly of eight or and sable.

(b) argent two bars az. over all an escarbuncle or.

This latter seems improbable, heraldically speaking, as it involves placement of gold on silver. However, arg. 2 bars az. over all an escarbuncle gu. Blount, Staffs., is given by Papworth.

However, both Sir Thomas and Sir Harry were not born until after the date of these visitations which could not therefore contain a record of the arms of their respective wives—unless these had been entered by a later hand. But Lipscombe gives Charles Blount as of Blount's Hall, Staffordshire, and in accordance with this information the arms of Hester are assumed to be those as given by Papworth for Blount, Staffordshire.

15. Sir Charles, Bart., and Jane Elisabeth Sellon. I cannot find any arms for Sellon (Plate III, 15).

Tyrrells of Castlethorpe

1. Sir Thomas and Bridget Harrington. Sa. a fret arg. Harrington, Rutland, Middlesex (Papworth). Fret on monument at Castlethorpe (Plate III, 16).

2. Peter and Bridget Altham, first wife. Quarterly, (1) and (4) arg. a lion rampant sa. (2) and (3) of six ermine and az. on a chief gu. a lion passant or. Altham (Berry) Plate III, 17).

3. Sir Peter, Bart., and Anne Raleigh, second wife. Probably gu. five lozenges arg. in bend, a martlet sa. for difference. Sir Walter Raleigh (Papworth) (Plate III, 18).

4. Sir Thomas, Bart., and Dorothy Eyre. (?) arg. on a chevron sa. three quatrefoils or. Eyre, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire (Papworth) (Plate III, 19).

Tyrrells of Oakley

1. Sir Timothy I and Eleanor Kingsmill. Arg. cruisilly fitchy a chevron ermines between two crosses moline sable. Kingsmill, Hampshire (Berry) (Plate III, 22).

2. Sir Timothy II and Elisabeth Usher. Az. a chevron ermine between three billets or. Archbishop James Usher of Armagh (Papworth). Slab at Oakley (Plate III, 23).

3. Sir James and Mary Hutchinson. Per pale gu. and az. semy of cross crosslets or, a lion rampant arg. Hutchinson (Papworth) (Plate III, 24). (Tyrrell as shown here is differenced with a label, which is how it occurs on both the floor slab and wall monument to Sir James in Oakley church, though the reason is somewhat obscure. This would normally be the coat of the heir apparent during his father's lifetime, but should not apply after his father, Sir Timothy, died in 1701. Perhaps the explanation may be that these labelled arms would have been used for nearly sixty years of his life, and when he died were erroneously considered to be his by the monument makers. The slab to Captain John Tyrrell at Oakley bears a mollet in the point of the upper chevron to mark his cadency—the third son—and as he died in his father's lifetime (1682) this is correctly portrayed (*see* Plate 30).

Quartered Coats as Recorded

A number of quartered coats of Tyrell is recorded, or preserved on monuments, which exemplifies the vulgarisation of armorial bearings that occurred during the Tudor period, wherein more and more quarters were added, apparently to the greater glory of the bearer, but with little regard to the accompanying aesthetic debasement and none to the impropriety of incorporating arms which belonged, not to heiresses, but merely families with whom they claimed to have intermarried.

The Tyrell arms fall naturally into three groups:

1. The simplest quartering of two coats: (1) and (4) Tyrell, (2) and (3) Coggeshall, all of which are recorded as the owner's arms when being knighted, viz.:

1513 Sir Thomas of Heron
1547 Sir Henry of Heron
1553 Sir John of Gipping.[14] (Plate III, 28).

(The arms of John of Gipping are not here noted as differenced, but curiously, *all* these are stated to bear a martlet sable on the crest for difference; an unlikely state of affairs.)

2. *Quarterly of four*: (a) (1) Tyrell, (2) Coggeshall, (3) Borgate, (4) Flambard. This occurs in Vis. Essex 1552; Vis. Suffolk 1561, impaling Mondaye (for Sir John of Gipping and Elisabeth Mondaye); on the wall plaque at Ashdon to Richard of Ashdon (Warley branch) 1566; and on a brass plate on the monument at Thornton to Jane Ingleton, the widow of Humphrey 1557 (Plate III, 26). (b) (1) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Flambard, (4) Coggeshall, occurs four times on the altar tomb at Ashdon of Richard of Ashdon 1566, one of which impales Woolley (his wife) (Plate III, 27).

3. *Quarterly of six or more*: Quarterly of six: (1) and (6) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Swinford, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall. This features five times in the Vis. Essex 1612: alone, and as four impalements, Baker, Croke, Wolley, and Glenham. (Plate III, 33), *and see* Impalements. Quarterly of 10: (1) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Swinford, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall, (6) Rokele, (7) Bruyn, (8) arg. semy de crosses crosslet fitchy, three griffins' heads erased az. Ingleton, (9) arg. a chevron between three tuns sa. flaming gu. Ingleton, (10) arg. a bend between six fleurs de lys gu. FitzEllis; impaling Lee (Vis. Essex, 1612), for Sir Edward of Thornton and Mary Lee

(Plate III, 32). Quarterly of nine: (a) (1) Tyrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Flambard, (4) Coggeshall, (5) Bruyn, (6) Rokele, (7) Ingleton (canting coat), (8) Ingleton (griffins), (9) FitzEllis. (Vis. Buckinghamshire, 1634), Thornton family, virtually the same as the previous one, omitting Swinford). (b) (1) Tyrrell, (2) Borgate, (3) Coggeshall, (4) quarterly arg. and gu. in the second and third quarters a fret or over all on a bend sa. three escallops of the first (see below), (5) Bruyn, (6) Rokele, (7) Ingleton (canting), (8) Ingleton (griffins), (9) FitzEllis. This still exists in window glass at Thornton (Plate III, 21) and dates from the early years of the 17th century. The mystery is quartering number four, which is the coat of Spencer, Baron Churchill; Spencer, Earl Spencer; Spencer, Yarnton, Oxfordshire (Papworth), a family with whom the Tyrells have no known marital connections. It is thought that these arms might be held to represent Hawkwood, but if this is so the arms should be arg. on a bend sa. three escallops of the field. (The depiction of these arms differs slightly from that portrayed in the window glass at Thornton, with respect to the helmet and the mantling. The Italianate style of the helmet in the original has been rendered in a more traditional English style by the artist, while the use of blue for the mantling was my own decision as the historical evidence would suggest this as the correct colour. It is not clear from the window glass whether the patches of red are intended to represent this mantling, they are admittedly symmetrically placed in relation to the shield, but experiencing some doubt about them I decided to use blue which appeared to be the house colour of the Essex forbears (*see* will of Sir Thomas of Heron, 1476), carried and perpetuated in the azure chevron of the Tyrell arms *see later* under 'Tyrell Standard'. That the designer of this window was uncertain of his heraldry is evidenced by the crest rendered as three ostrich feathers, whereas there is no known source for the use of anything but peacock feathers, and the *Visitation of Buckinghamshire,* 1634, clearly describes the crest as 'a boar's head devouring a plume of peacock feathers'. (c) (1) Tyrell, (2) gu. a fess between three herons arg. (Heron), (3) Borgate, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall, (6) barry nebuly of eight or and sa. (Blount), (7) Vair (Beauchamp), (8) Or, an inescutcheon arg. within an orb of saltires couped gu. two lions passant sa. (Aila), (9) or, a tower triple towered az. (Sanchet). Given thus by Vis. Essex 1634 (Plate III, 31). Quarterly of 12: (1) Tyrell, (2) gu. a fess between three herons arg. (Heron), (3) Borgate, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall, (6) Arg. three lions rampant az. (Mildmay), (7) . . . a bend engrailed . . ., (?), (8) . . . a lion rampant . . . within a bordure az. (?), (9) arg. a fess between two chevrons gu. (?), (10) arg. three bars gu. (?), (11) gu. three fishes haurient arg.(?), (12) az. an eagle displayed arg. (Cotton). An escutcheon of pretence, . . . on a chevron, . . . five horseshoes . . . (Crispe). Monument at East Horndon to Sir John Tyrell, Bart., 1766, by Nollekens. Since 1972 in Victoria and Albert Museum, British Sculpture Section (Plate 11).

The Tyrells were following the national trend towards ever more quarterings, and those shown (and the order in which they are introduced) are worthy of consideration.

At the beginning of the 16th century, it quarterings were used at all—and frequently the simple coat of Tyrell is recorded—then the one chosen was Coggeshall. One assumes this to be so for one or both of two reasons: (a) Alice was her father's heiress and her arms could legitimately be taken in; and/or (b) the Coggeshall marriage marked the real foundations of the family fortunes: it is in any event from John and Alice that the several branches descended. In this context it is to be noted that no incorporation was made of the arms of Heron, or any other wife prior to Alice Coggeshall.

By the middle of the 16th century fashion evidently decreed an aggrandisement of the coat, and so two more families were introduced: Borgate and Flambard. Eleanor Flambard was authenticated as the wife of Walter in the demolition and re-making of the pedigree of the early Tyrells of Heron, and it was there suggested that a Borgate marriage to one of James's antecedents—possibly Hugh of Mannington —could account for the tradition of this name and the use of their arms in later quarterings.

Towards the end of the Tudor epoch, heraldic quarterings reached their peak of multiple complexity with the addition of all and sundry connections. Apart from the Tyrell quarterings listed above, it might be appropriate at this point to mention others wherein a Tyrell marriage appears to have been involved, viz.:

1. Throgmorton. The Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1623, gives: quarterly of 10, (1) Throgmorton, (2) Bridges, (3) Apurley, (4) Scagill, (5) Tyrell, (6) Flambard, (7) Coggeshall, (8) Mathew, (9) Veale, (10) Whittington. The attached pedigree does not indicate any marriage with a Tyrell, nor is it possible from other records to suggest when this occurred.

2. Theodosia, the daughter of Edward Tyrrell of Thornton, and second wife of Edmund West of Marsworth (their impaled arms are referred to above), was born in 1586, the same year as Edmund's father, Nicholas, died. The stone slab at Marsworth commemorating the burial of Nicholas has a few brass inlaid fragments remaining, one of which is a shield of arms, now very worn and difficult to read, which shows West impaling 13 (?) quarterings, the lower ones virtually eradicated. Of these, No. 3 is ascertainable as two chevrons within a border engrailed, and might therefore indicate a very much earlier West and Tyrrell intermarriage, though two other possibilities must be borne in mind: the arms, without their distinctive colourings, could be ascribed to about eight other families; and, secondly, the quartering, be it Tyrell or other, might have been brought in by another marriage.

In returning to the quarterings of the Tyrells themselves, it is necessary to comment upon some of the additional coats introduced into these.

The simplest one, of six quarters, contains the four used previously (Tyrell, Coggeshall, Borgate and Flambard), adding one more: Swinford, and this occurs again in the quarterly of ten. It must be assumed that the Swinford marriage actually occurred, and unless it was before Hugh, it must have been during the century of establishment in Essex between James and Sir John. According to the pedigree proposed for this period the succession was:

James, first wife, Alice; second wife, Margaret Heron.
Thomas the elder, wife Alice Blaund.
Thomas the younger, wife Alice d'Adeleigh.
Walter I (?), wife . . . ?
Walter II, wife Eleanor Flambard.
Sir John, first wife, Alice Coggeshall; second wife, Katherine . . .
Walter, eldest son, died before father, ? wife.

On the face of it this allows for four possibilities of a Swinford wife, but probably two of these should be eliminated: Sir John was succeeded by his second son, Thomas, and so the arms of any wife of Walter should not come into the family, and Sir John's heirs were through his first wife, Alice Coggeshall, so the family coat of Katherine

should not be appropriate. This reduces the field to two runners: a Swinford being the wife of the proposed Walter I would provide a satisfactory solution and a tidy pedigree if the succession was as thus described. Alternatively, both the addition to and absence from the line of this Walter I can be reconciled with the Swinford lady being wife to James, and in this connection it might be apposite to note that the Swinford arms were used several times, but not those of Heron, the only instances of the Heron quartering occurring later. It would, furthermore, appear that Thomas the elder, the heir to James, must have been born about 1290, and therefore be the son of Alice (? Swinford). It thus remains an open question as to which of these two married a Swinford. (Plate II, 14.)

The quartering of 10, for Sir Edward of Thornton (Vis. 1612), and that of 9 (Vis. 1634) require no further explanation—the first seven are already accounted for, while 8 and 9 are the two coats of Ingleton with which FitzEllis was brought in by Jane's marriage to Humphrey Tyrrell.

This leaves the 9 quarterings of the 1634 Essex Visitation and the 12 quarterings on the 1766 monument to the last male Tyrell of Heron. The former is difficult to view as anything but a flight of imagination; Quarters (1) Tyrell, (3) Borgate, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall, (6) Blount, are all accountable, but then the questions start. The arms of Bryun and Rokele, historically viable, and Swinford, traditionally accepted and used fairly extensively, have been discarded and a curious medley introduced.

The arms of Heron had not previously been used, but are here added to the shield and given pride of place as No. 2. Most armigerous families display several coats representing different branches in time and place, and Heron is no exception to this. It would seem that the author of this shield selected one of these without any consideration of the probability of its correctness as applicable to Sir William, the father of Margaret Heron. Associated with James Tyrrell in the early years of the 14th century was John Heron, probably the son of Sir William, and brother of Margaret, and an armorial roll of *c.* 1308–14 gives Az. three herons arg. as the arms of Sir John Heron. It is practically a certainty, therefore, that this was his father's coat, and that which would be impaled by James Tyrrell, and used in a quartering.

Quarter No. 7, Vair. By definition alternate pieces of white and blue, this is not the coat of Beauchamp. Among others they bore: vair with a label (gules, or, and sable), and even vairy az. and arg.—wherein the pattern is the same but the colours reversed. In any case no historical reason exists for the inclusion of this family's arms. The true attribution of this quarter must be to Filliol: Filliol of Essex, Vair; Filliol of Old Hall, Essex, Vair a canton gules. (Margaret Filliol, the wife of Thomas of Heron.)

Quarters 8 'Aila', and 9 'Sanchet', two rather strange-sounding families which have not appeared anywhere in the historic record. The second of these can be found in the ordinaries:

> Sanche (Spain)—or a tower azure.
> Sanchia—or a castle azure.
> Sanchet—as for Sanchia, and: or a castle triple towered azure.

I have been unable to trace Aila (under various spellings), or to find the arms as herein described, but there was a historically noteworthy Spanish statesman, historian and poet of the name of Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala, who lived from 1332 to 1407

(*Encyclopedia Britannica*). In default of any better suggestion for the inclusion of these two Spanish families in a Tyrrell shield I propose the following as the reason —arising from the unlearned imaginings of the mind of its original author, which created an amalgam of facts and nonsense.

The Swinford marriage can be accepted as a fact, albeit shrouded in mystery. Morant, in his erroneous Tyrell pedigree, gives the lady as Jane, the daughter of Sir William Swynford of Essex, but it seems that some story may have grown up asserting her to be Catherine Swinford, the wife of John of Gaunt, who 'after his death is said to have married a Tyrell'. (Thus in the notes of Rev. William Tirrell, but not referenced.) Next, John of Gaunt was very much involved in the dynastic quarrels in Spain, supporting, with his brother, the Black Prince, in 1366 and 1367, Pedro the Cruel of Castile, whose daughter he married as his second wife in 1369. Now, Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala was, earlier, prominent at the court of Pedro the Cruel, but later became disaffected towards him, and in 1367 was taken prisoner by the Black Prince. Sanchia I am unable to clarify, but his being of a Spanish family must be significant in this context, and somehow out of this tale must be born the arms of 'Aila' and 'Sanchet' in the Tyrell coat.

As for Catherine Swinford marrying a Tyrell; she was only a Swinford by marriage, being the daughter of Sir Payne Roelt, who came from Hainault with Queen Philippa, and *c.* 1367 became the wife of Sir Hugh Swynford of Lincolnshire, by whom she had a son, Thomas (1368–1433), a friend and companion of Henry IV. Her husband died in 1372 and shortly afterwards she became the mistress of John of Gaunt (then married to Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel), a lasting liaison which became sanctified by marriage in 1396 after Constance had died. Their four bastard children were legitimised in 1397 and took the name of Beaufort from one of their father's castles in Anjou. John of Gaunt died in 1399 in his 59th year, and Catherine, aged 53, in 1403, so any marriage with a Tyrell must be during these four years.

At this point in time the Herefordshire Tyrells had become extinct, and only the Heron branch is on record—Walter and his sons, John, Edward, Richard, Thomas, and William. Of these, Walter's wife, Eleanor, was living until 1422, as was Alice, the wife of his son John. As none of John's brothers were in direct line of descent any wife of one of them should not bring arms into the family coat. The widow of John of Gaunt, even though approximately fifty, would doubtless be considered a 'good catch' by any, even a much younger, man, but surely if such a noted personage had re-married this would be in the national records, and if the husband had been a Tyrell it is highly improbable that no recognition of such a match was made in the family arms for two hundred years. It can therefore be stated with reasonable confidence that the absolute lack of positive evidence makes the notion of this marriage untenable, and the Swinford married at some time by some Tyrell was a lady of far lowlier station —maybe Jane, the daughter of Sir William of Essex.

We can dismiss as fiction any connection with Catherine Swinford, but cannot so lightly dispose of the 'coat of many colours' and its Spanish connections, except by a consideration that it, too, has little truth in its sequence of related but inconsequential 'facts'. Thus, a Tyrell married Catherine Swinford; then to John of Gaunt; his wife the daughter of Pedro the Cruel . . .; confusion with Don Pedro de Ayala and hence his arms; somewhere similar confusion must collect up Sanchet also.

The 12 quarterings shown on the funeral monument of Sir John, Bart., in 1766 also present something of a mystery. It will be noticed that the first five, viz.: (1) Tyrell, (2) Heron, (3) Borgate, (4) Flambard, (5) Coggeshall, follow exactly the first five of the previously discussed 1634 Visitation coat, even to the extent of again incorporating the 'spurious' Heron arms.

The sixth quarter is occupied by the arms of Mildmay for John's grandmother, Martha, while his mother, Elisabeth Cotton, is represented by her family arms appearing in the last (12th) quarter. Numbers (7), (8), (9), (10) and (11), even where the tinctures still remain visible, could each be attributed to several families, but none of these can be demonstrated as having any direct marital connections with the Tyrells of Heron. The inference, therefore, is that these coats were 'brought in', and as they all occur between Mildmay, the grandmother, and Cotton, the mother, it can be supposed that they represent earlier marriage alliances of the Mildmay family, seized upon and incorporated as a further aggrandisement to the Tyrell arms.

The Tyrell Standard

A Tudor manuscript in the College of Arms[13] is the source of an illustration and description of a standard thus: 'The Cross of St. George; Crest: on a wreath argent and azure a boar's head erect argent and issuing from the mouth a peacock's tail. Sprinkled with the Tyrell knot, or badge'. The arms are given as Argent two chevrons azure within a border engrailed Gules; a martlet Sable for difference; and the motto: 'Tout pour de mieulx' (All for the best). These are attributed to 'Thomas Tyrell de Gyppyng in Suffolk', who was the son of James, the reputed murderer of the princes in the Tower. He was restored to his father's confiscated estates in 1507 and knighted in 1513, so presumably the document belongs to this period as it does not refer to him as a knight.

'English standards of the Tudor period always had the Cross of St. George at their head: then came the device, badge or crest of its owner, with his motto. They did not bear the coat of arms.'[17] The cross of St. George is red on a white ground, and the description gives the tinctures of the boar's head crest, though not of the remainder of the standard; but as it is very unlikely that this was completely colourless I have suggested the historical Tyrell colours of argent and azure. In an earlier chapter blue was seen to be the livery colour of the Essex Tyrells, so the Gipping branch using the same arms, differenced by a martlet, would be expected to continue the tradition, and, in fact, this is evidenced by the description of the crest. The 'crest-wreath' arose as a means of disguising the rather unsightly attachment of the crest to the helm, and originally was formed by a twisted scarf or lady's favour. In later times it became a formalised part of the crest and was always, unless otherwise specified, of the principal metal and principal colour in the arms. Thus the Tyrell arms are reflected in the argent and azure of the wreath, and the same banding would have been used on the fringe of the standard, while the probability is that the Tyrell knot and motto would also be tinctured blue. It is possible, of course, that only the lettering and framing bands of the motto were in blue, rather than the whole as in this representation (Plate II, 47).

It is perhaps worth commenting here on the hatchment at Gipping to one of the descendants of Sir Thomas which shows the quartered arms of Tyrell and Bright so may be understood to represent Edmund Tyrell, who died unmarried in 1799, the son and heir of Edmund and his second wife, Mary Bright. On this the crest-wreath and the mantling flowing out from it are argent and gules, which is an unexplained break with tradition. Furthermore, the supporters are not, to my knowledge, recorded in any grant or enrolment of arms of the Tyrell family, which places another question-mark against the declaration in this hatchment.

Chapter Eleven

TWO 17th-CENTURY INVENTORIES

Discussion

THESE TWO HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES, drawn up within five years of each other, give a valuable insight into the way of life of the wealthier classes in late Stuart England. Although the household furnishings and equipment may not appear as comprehensive as those of most homes today, it must be remembered that compared with the great majority of people the Tyrells of Gipping and of Castlethorpe were well endowed with worldly goods. It was, however, only some hundred years or so previously that the rising prosperity of the Tudor period brought about the great rebuilding of houses and the acquisition of personal possessions about the house. For centuries previously the houses of even the upper classes were little more than shelters wherein they could eat and sleep, and their possessions were limited fairly strictly to these functions.

Listed in these inventories are the contents of all the rooms and closets in both houses, and this makes it possible to form some comparisons, not only of the size of the houses, but also the relative wealth of the two families at that date. In the following list the rooms have been separated into: living rooms; bedrooms—assumed to be those containing beds and with a suggested division into family and staff bedrooms on the basis of the quality of goods listed; service rooms—those named as for some particular function; and closets, or store-rooms.

	Living rooms	Bedrooms	Service rooms	Closets
Gipping	3: parlour, old hall, new hall	11: ? five family; ? six staff	5: kitchen, butteries, brew house, mill house, wash house	4
Castlethorpe ..	5: parlour, hall, dining room, withdrawing room, Green and Silver room	14: ? seven family, ? seven staff	8: kitchen, buttery, brewhouse, mill house, laundry dairy, great cellar, little cellar	10

These make totals of 19 rooms and four closets at Gipping, and 27 rooms and 10 closets at Castlethorpe, so over all the latter would appear to have been approximately half as big again as the former. Some part or parts of Sir Thomas Tyrell's manor house at Castlethorpe remain to this day (Plate 27), but during the intervening

three centuries much alteration has taken place and it is impossible to relate the present structure to that in Dame Bridget's inventory of 1683. (*See under* Tyrells of Casthethorpe.)

When it comes to the contents of the various rooms, then it is apparent that Gipping was relatively impoverished by comparison with the furnishings and equipment listed at Castlethorpe; perhaps not really surprising, as Sir Thomas had risen to great seniority in the national judiciary and would have had the opportunity of amassing a considerable fortune. This is reflected in the undoubted costliness of much that is mentioned at Castlethorpe, where it is clear that guests were entertained in a lavish manner.

The Gipping inventory has the advantage of supplying a value for the contents of the house, but this produces some rather unexpected figures: for instance, £2 seems a relatively small sum for 'a gunn a case of Pistolls and a sword', and one cannot escape the conclusion that all the items have been deliberately undervalued for some reason unknown. On the other hand, it is less than specific in itemising such things as furnishings and cooking utensils, so that it is not possible to put even a comparative value to an individual item in these groups. This inherent vagueness unfortunately precludes any close correlation between the value of the contents of the two houses, but it is abundantly clear, from a comparison of these lists, that the manor house of Castlethorpe contained a considerably greater range and quantity of household goods than did that at Gipping.

Living rooms

At Gipping, the 'old hall' of the medieval house had evidently been replaced by a 'new hall', but the contents of this were unimpressive when compared with the wealth displayed at Castlethorpe, where not only was the old hall more expensively furnished, but there was also the newly-styled 'Dining Room'. Here was luxury on the grand scale: the walls hung with grey and gold leather, white curtains at the windows, a new fireplace lined with marble tiles, lighting from large socketed gilt sconces, velvet cushions, side tables, brass-studded black (leather?) covered dining chairs, and gold-coloured 'carpetts' upon the 'foure greate tables when sett together in this roome'.

Elsewhere in her will, Dame Bridget bequeathed to her daughter-in-law much of the household linen, which included 'one of the fine longe damaske table Clothes which is for the Tables when they are sett three together in the dineing roome and eighteen fine damaske napkins belonging to it and two fine sideboard clothes'. Food was served and eaten from the pewter dishes and plates normally kept in the kitchen, and from white china or earthenware plates stored, presumably for greater safety, in a locked closet within another locked closet. In addition, there were evidently a few, more valuable, pieces of silver which were bequeathed separately: 'a greate silver basket'; 'a greate gilt Cupp cover and server'; 'Silver Snuffers and Snuffedish'; a 'Silver Cupp with two eares and the Cover to it'; a 'lesser silver tankard'; 'one Silver Salt and the Silver Spoones'. Dame Bridget apparently even possessed a silver warming pan, the lid of which she left to one of her nieces 'to buy her a server'.

The parlour at Castlethorpe which contained about twenty chairs was clearly the main sitting room for entertaining, while the withdrawing room with only a few chairs was evidently smaller and would have been used by the family when on their own. One other, the 'Green and Silver Room' appears to have been a sitting room of some

sort, though as it contained only three chairs and four stools it could scarcely have been intended for use when company was present. It might well have been Sir Thomas Tyrell's personal study; such a room is not mentioned in the inventory, but in 'niece Anne's Chamber' was described 'one high Chest of drawers that stood in my husbands studdy for writings', thus inferring that a room had been set aside as such in the past, and was now being used for some other purpose. This 'Green and Silver Roome' was expensively furnished with wall hangings of green and silver leather and a screen of the same material; 14 new skins are mentioned; white curtains at the window and 'two green curtains for winter' (presumably also for the window). The two tables were both new and the fireplace contained a set of 'new fashion brasse Andirons' which were then beginning to replace the old iron implements in wealthier houses.

One item at Gipping which is noticeably absent at Castlethorpe is books. 'Severall books' are mentioned in the former inventory but not a single one in the latter, and this would at first sight appear very odd as there can be no doubt that Sir Thomas was the owner of several; he was an educated man and a highly skilled lawyer, as well as belonging to the monied class where it was becoming almost *de rigueur* to purchase and read the latest scientific works, plays by contemporary authors and descriptions of the newly-discovered splendours of the past. The most likely explanation for the lack of books at Castlethorpe is that these were bequeathed by Sir Thomas to his son, Peter, who succeeded him, and as it would seem from the inventory that Peter was not at that time living in the family house they would not be listed among the contents there belonging to Dame Bridget.

There were many more pictures at Castlethorpe, and again this was a sign of greater wealth; some 62 are listed compared to perhaps twenty or thirty (number unspecified) at Gipping. Just as today, the value of pictures at that time must have varied enormously, though one shilling per picture at Gipping scarcely seems an adequate valuation. As a comparison Samuel Pepys, in the 1660s, refers to copies of paintings by Raphael and Michelangelo at 20s. each; 'my lord's picture . . . I paid £3.10.0 for it and the frame'; portraits of himself and his wife, '£6 for the two pictures and 36s. for the two frames'. On the other hand he was tempted by the painting of 'a little flower pot' by Simon Verelst, who was asking £70 and would not come down below £50 for all Pepys' entreaties.

The Castlethorpe pictures are fairly typical of what one would expect to find, including pictures of the King and Queen and the Duke of York (the future King James II); Twelve Caesars, some religious scenes such as the Story of Hester; rustic scenes of hunting, agriculture, animals and children; while over the chimney in the dining room was 'Hunting the Stagge'. Twenty-four pictures hung on the walls of the staircase, and the others were found in the withdrawing room (16), parlour (12), dining room (5), hall (4), and Green and Silver room (1). In both the dining room and the withdrawing room were 'three King Henry's Pictures' which is somewhat obscure. Clearly these were not all the same, so they were probably s set of some sort; perhaps they were representations of Henry VIII with each of his six wives?

Service rooms

Both Gipping and Castlethorpe have the basic departments of kitchen, buttery, brew house, mill house and laundry, but in addition Castlethorpe lays claim to two

cellars with appropriate contents, and a dairy. Listing every item in every room Dame Bridget gives a very comprehensive view of the equipment used in the preparation of foodstuffs, and the various rooms in which some of these processes were carried out; those listed above, and other small rooms with specialised functions. In her 'woman's closett' we find all the utensils for cooking venison, collar beef, fish, coffee, cakes and biscuits, and all sorts of pots and jars for preserving and storing plums, pickles, sugar, marmalade, and sweetmeats. Verjuice, the acid juice of unripe fruit, was kept in little barrels under the stairs in company with charcoal, candles and spice; one larder contained flour, oatmeal and the bacon-salting trough; a cheese press, bowls, vats, tubs, sieves and tongs were among the equipment for making butter and cheese in the dairy; and the brew house contained, as well as brewing material, benches and tubs for the washing which was presumably boiled up here in the 'furnace or copper'.

Bedrooms

The beds and bedding in different rooms vary slightly, but the typical bed as used by the family, at Castlethorpe at least, is as described for instance in 'the little chamber over against the Oystershell roome'. The bedstead was a rectangular base with a high panelled head and two corner posts at the foot end rising to the same height as the headboard. Three curtain rods completed the top frame, joining the posts to the headboard, and from these were hung the four curtains—presumably one each side and a pair at the foot-end where the bed was entered. Over the top was a canopy, the tester, while the curtain rods and curtain heads were disguised and decorated with a valance. The lower frame was covered by a 'Matt' fixed on by cords, and on this was a feather bed, sometimes more than one (what we would now call a mattress). At the head end were two bolsters and two pillows, usually feather filled, but sometimes flock, and the bedding consisted of two white blankets and a coloured rug or coverlet.

In some of the rooms one also finds a 'trundle' or truckle bed, a low bed on wheels which could be pushed under a high bed when not in use. Such would be used by nurse-maids or servants sleeping in the room with one of the family.

From the items listed in the inventory a good picture emerges of this 'little chamber over against the Oystershell roome'. The colour scheme was largely green with red, the walls were hung with a striped green and yellow material, with the window curtains of the same material, while the bed curtains and valance were green serge, with a fringe of silk along the valance, and the bed was covered with a red blanket. Two occasional, square, tables continued the same scheme, one having a red cloth cover and the other a green one, while the washstand was red painted. There were two chairs, one with arms, which was upholstered in red cloth with 'Turkey work' cushion—a largely red patterned material, and the other a high chair which was covered in the same Turkey wool material. The furnishings were completed by two stools in red and gold leather, a mirror, which was still a fairly rare commodity at that date, and last, but not least, the 'close stool', a box containing a chamber pot which in this case was a pewter utensil. It will be noted that the 'carpets' mentioned are really table coverings, and the floors were bare of such adornments, being undoubtedly of oak boarding.

When considering the affluence of the household of Castlethorpe it is of some interest to look at Dame Bridget's personal effects as displayed in the main part of

her will. Here she bequeathed her jewellery and her monies; in the first category the items mentioned are: two diamond rings, the best of which was to go to Sir Peter, her step-son and heir; the 'diamond ring of the Rose fashion' (possibly the other of the two mentioned above); the 'Saphir ring with two diamonds'; the 'ring with the greate blewe saphir stone'; the 'bracelet of blew and greene Cutt Christolls'. This was evidently not the total, as she further bequeathed to her niece 'my plate jewells mony goods chattells and Creditts' except for those separately listed.

An interesting distinction is made between gold coins and silver money; for instance, several persons were to receive so many guineas and so many pounds in silver, and completely separate items record the distribution of 'my guinea gold' and 'my old broad gold by which I mean Jacobuses'. The reason for thus separating the gold coinage from the silver lies in the fact that at that date the two did not bear a constant relationship to each other. Modern-day money consists of tokens representing a certain value but not having that intrinsic worth, but in earlier times the pound sterling was the value of one pound of silver, which in Troy weight was sub-divided into two hundred and forty pennyweights.

Throughout the 17th century one pound of silver was consistently coined as 62 shillings, but as the value of silver fell because of its inflow from America the silver currency became effectively devalued as it was, in fact, worth only its bullion price when melted down. On the other hand, despite alterations in the ratio of the value of gold to silver made during this century, gold was frequently undervalued when compared with Continental currencies, which thus produced an outflow of gold from this country further increasing its value against silver on the home market. Although this is, admittedly, an over-simplification of the problem it does produce some understanding of the reasons for differentiating between gold and silver coinage, and an idea of the disparity between these in 1683 can be obtained by deduction from known figures.

The Jacobus was a gold coin issued in the reign of James I and valued then at 25 shillings sterling, and as James coined one pound of gold into £41 it can be deduced that the Jacobus would contain 25/20 x 1/41lbs., that is 5/164lbs. gold. By the time of the Restoration one pound of gold was being coined at £44 10s. 0d., so at this date the old Jacobus would be worth, in bullion value, 5/164 x 890 shillings, or approximately 27 shillings. The gold guinea, issued in 1663, was then valued at 20 shillings, but during the subsequent three decades the continued devaluation of silver coinage (helped by the custom of 'clipping' coins) enhanced its value to 30 shillings by 1694. It is therefore apparent that in 1683 the guinea, instead of being worth £1, had a value of perhaps 26 shillings, and the 'broad' Jacobus with its higher gold content would be equivalent to approximately 35 shillings of silver coin.

Dame Bridget bequeathed some £450 in silver, 185 golden guineas, which would be worth about £250, and 16 Jacobuses to the value of about £38, all of which makes a total of over £700 0s. 0d. in ready cash, a not inconsiderable sum when viewed against the assessments in Gregory King's Tables of 1688. These show 'labouring people and outservants' with a yearly income of £15 per family, 'eminent clergymen' at £72 per annum, 'gentlemen' at £280 per annum, and 'knights' at £650 per annum, among a spectrum ranging from vagrants to temporal lords.

In addition, there was £500 owing from her step-son, Sir Peter Tyrrell, probably not available in ready cash, and a sum of invested money bringing in £32 18s. 0d. per

annum. This interest was 'charged forever upon and yearly payable out of his Majesties perpetuall revenue of the excise by virtue of his Majesties Letters Pattents'; in consideration of a 'considerable sume of mony' placed in the hands of the 'London Bankers'. The capital sum involved is not specified and one can only estimate this by deduction from the prevailing rates of interest.

Under Charles II the Lombard Street Goldsmiths gave 6 per cent. on monies deposited with them, and lending to the king they expected a return of at least 8 per cent., and frequently received a higher rate than this, no doubt depending upon how much and how urgently Charles required the money. It would seem that Dame Bridget's money was with the 'bankers' (in this context *see* the will of Sir John Tyrell of Heron wherein is found the effect of the king suspending his payments to the bankers in the 1670s); in which case she would be paid 6 per cent. and an interest of £32 18s. 0d. would represent an invested capital of £550 0s. 0d. Over all, therefore, Dame Bridget owned in excess of £1,700, over and above her jewellery, which was quite a fortune in the days when a widow was usually left with just about enough to live on, while her husband's worldly goods and effects were passed on to his heirs. Compare, for instance, the will of Sir Toby of Thornton in 1671, where the monies and goods are bequeathed to his children and his wife received 'wearing apparel and the best diamond ring she can choose'.

Glossary of unfamiliar words in the Inventories (marked with * in text)

Ark. Old name for a coffer.
Bayes. Baize, a coarse woollen stuff.
Buck. Lye, an alkaline solution for washing; also a 'large wash of clothes'.
Close-stool. Chamber utensil in a box.
Coffin. A coffer, chest, box, or basket.
Cobiron. One of the irons on which a spit turns.
Coverlid. Old form of 'coverlet'.
Disart. Dessert.
Dimity. Stout cotton cloth, ribbed and figured, used chiefly for bed hangings and window curtains.
Flagg. Rush (seating).
Gallipot. A small earthen pot.
Hogwash. Kitchen refuse, food for swine.
Hutch. A chest, box, or bin.
Intermesses. Anglicised form of entremets, earlier entremées, 'side dishes'.
Kiner. Or **Kiver**, a shallow vessel of wood, oval in shape.
Parragon. Double camlet; a thin material originally made of camel's hair, but later of wool or goat's hair.
Peel. A wooden shovel used by bakers.
Pipkin. An earthen pot with a lid.
Points de Venee. Point de Venise or Venice lace.
Rundlett. Or **Runlet**, a small round barrel for ale.
Sallett. 'A globular helmet', from French salade and hence probably means salad.
Sarcenetts. Sarcenet, a soft fine silk material.
Shovel board. A very popular game in the 16th and 18th centuries, similar to 'shove halfpenny', but played on a larger table (one at Boughton House, Northamptonshire, is 36ft. long), with brass discs or large coins.
Skillet. A small pan with a long handle.
Skummer. A skimmer.
Tearce. A tierce, a wine measure or cask.
Verjuice. Acid juice of unripe fruit.
Voyder. A large open basket, a clothes basket.

THE INVENTORIES

1.—The Goods at Gipping of Thomas Tyrell, ob. 1678

AN INVENTORY of All and singular the Goods and Chattels Rights and Credits of Thomas Tyrell late of the hamblet of Gipping in the County of Suff. Esq., declared as they were vallued and appraised in the Nine and twentieth day of October Anno Dni 1678 by us whose names are subscribed, viz.

	£	s.	d.
In the Parlor			
Imprimis three tables and eleaven cushion stooles, one Couch and Nine cushion Chaires	5	15	0
Item twelve small pictures		12	0
Item four large Pictures		4	0
Item severall Books	2	10	0
Item carpets cushions curtains	2	0	0
Item Brass Obirons (? cob irons) Tongs fire pans Doggs and some small things	2	0	0
In the Closet next the Parlor			
Item a chair a Table and other things	1	0	0
In the old hall			
Twoe Tables Formes and a brass candlestick	1	0	0
In the Kitchen			
Item all the Pewter	5	0	0
Item two iron Potts a Jack and severall Spits	2	10	0
Item a Gunn a Case of Pistolls and a sword	2	0	0
Item Cobirons* Doggs Trammells Poles Tongs fire pan and other Irons for the fire and Bellowes and severall other things and Lumber	1	10	0
Item Kettles Skellets* Frying panns Dripping pans and some Utensils used about the Cookery	4	0	0
In a Room Neare the Kitchen			
Item a Cupboard twoe warming pans six great Brasse Candlesticks and other Candlesticks and Lumber	4	0	0
In the Butteries			
Item seaven hoggsheads and foure vessells	2	10	0
Item a Table a Napkin Presse Glasses a hutch a Brasse Candlestick als Hooks and Lumber	1	10	0
In the New Hall			
Item twoe Tables a Sadle a Bridle Pictures Candlestick and other things	2	13	4
In the Wash House			
Item a Copper	1	10	0
Item Tongs Firepan Trammel a . . . Tubbs a Table and Lumber	1	0	0
In his Lodging Chamber			
Item One Downe Bed twoe Feather Beds with the Curtains and other furnishments	20	0	0
Item twoe Tables twoe chaires a Trunk a close stoole and Lumber	1	10	0
Item all his weareing Apparrell	20	0	0

	£	s.	d.
In the Butlery chamber			
Item more Beds with their furnishmts.	10	0	0
Item a Presse three Trunks and Lumber	1	0	0
In the old Kitchem chamber, a chamber next to it and in the Gatehouse chamber			
Item twoe Bedsteads curtaines and other furnishments as they stand	10	0	0
Item a Table chaire stooles and Lumber	1	10	0
In the Groomes chamber			
Item a Bedstead Bed with its furnishments, a Table, a Chaire and Lumber	2	10	0
In the Porter's Lodge			
An old bed and Lumber	1	10	0
In the Brewhouse			
Item a Copper	5	0	0
Item the brewing Vessells	4	0	0
In the Storehouses and Garden			
Item a Powdering Tray and Tubbs a Table hutches* a Keepe and Lumber	1	0	0
In the new hall Chambere with the Gallery adjoyning			
Item twoe Beds as they stand with their furnishments	20	0	0
Item three Tables Curtaines and Carpet twoe Presses three Trunks and some other things	3	0	0
In the new Kitchen Chambers			
Item twoe Bedsteads with Beds curtains and other furnishments as they stand ..	20	0	0
Item three Tables three chaires three stooles and a case of Drawers	2	10	0
In the Nursery Chamber			
Item Twoe Bedsteads and Beds with their furnishments and Lumber	6	0	0
In the other			
Item one Bed twoe Bedsteads and Lumber	4	10	0
Item all the household Linnen	20	0	0
Item the Plate	40	0	0
Item in Ready Money and Money due to him from his Tennants	150	0	0
In the Mill house			
Item a Mill and Lumber	3	0	0
In the Yards and Outhouses			
Item twoe Carts twoe Tumbrells and the harnesse for the horses	7	0	0
Sume Totall	£398	10	4

Ol. Johnson
Thomas Milles Assessors

Inventory made 30th Dec. 1678 for Edmund Tyrell Esq., one of the Executors, etc.

2.—Addendum to the will of Dame Bridget Tyrrill of Castlethorpe, widow of Thomas Tyrrill, 1683

The first Schedule or Inventory of goods in my house at Castle Thorpe intended for Sr. Peter Tyrrill hee performing the conditions expressed in my will to which this annexed.

In the Hall. A faire Shovellboard* table with the board, three formes, a faire Ovall-Table, a large square table, Seaven high redd leather chaires, a leather Carpett upon the Ovall table, a Pendulum Clock and Case, foure ordinary pictures Two Tinn Sconces wth. Socketts, a three cornered woodden stoole, a new bell, my husbands Eschochson or Majestie (presumably his coat of arms) an Excellent lock and key with bolts to the doore.

In the Buttery, a large Table, a forme, one of the foure tables that belongs to the Dining roome, another little table upon wch. the presse for Linen stands, a press for Linen, a Glass case or Cubbord the wall, a large presse with two doores and two cubbords to keepe foule linen in, three shelves and three loose boards against the wall a Buttery Napkin baskett A voyder* baskett an Old baskett for Trenchers A wooden voyder for glasses a round Iron frame for a waxlight and a brasse Sconce, a paile wth. an Iron baise to wash glasses in, two new window shutters Two locks & keys to the buttery & roome within it.

In the Parler, The old greene hangings and upon them new green printed parragon* hangings with Staves gilt leather, a Chimney picture of the Story of Hester The King and Queenes pictures and Duke of Yorks Three pictures of the seasons of the yeare five little pictures of Luther and Perkins a Sheppard and Sheppardes and a little boy with a bitch and her puppies, a Sydeboard table, a good Cloth Carpett edged with gilt leather a green printed Stuffe carpet edged with gilt leather and two green bayes* Carpetts to lye uppermost, three window curtain rodds a large wallnutttree Cane Chaire a large Couch of greene Cloth covered with greene bayes and upon that a covering of new green printed parragon, a looking glass, three elboe chaires, with turned pillers twelve high Chaires, with turned pillers whereof two are upon the Staires three low chaires with turned pillars a little stand stable with greene and gold Seaven old green plush cusheons quilted Sixteen new green parragon quilted cusheons and one new green squob of the same for the Couch Chaire. A round wicker Skreen, a fire grate fire shovell and tongs with brasse knobs a paire of Andirons with broad double brasses An Iron wth. a Phenix Skreen fanns a paire of bellows a paire of Snuffers and Snuffedish foure long flower potts of bastard China and a Cricket, Three locks and keys to the parler and garden doores with bolts, foure gold colour Searge window Curtaines.

In the Kitchen Two Dressers and Shelves behinde the doore, a good Jack Double pullies and lead weights weighing forty two pounds, a long barr of Iron in the Chimney to hang the pott hangers on two pott hangers with an hooke to hang on them, a large fire grate with two wings two barrs at the bottom five barrs on the side and one barr loose to hold up the Wood fires a greate paire of Tongs, a plaine fire Shovell a fire shovell with a grate, a paire of greate Cobirons or Racks and two loose iron hooks on them, a fire forke, a fender, two iron dripping pans, two greate spitts, two middling spitts, two little spitts the one double, one baste (?) forke, two iron cleavers, a trimming knife one iron pott with hooks one iron kettle both weighing ninety eight pounds one little brasse pott one little iron pott with hooks, one large Copper pott with a lidd tin'd one lesser copper pott wth. a lidd tind and great brasse Skellit* and three lesser ones three brasse Sawce pans large and tin'd over one little brasse ladle and two brasse Skummers* one brasse chaffing dish, one brass morter with an Iron pestle one stone morter with a wooden pestle, one large and two lesser Trivetts one gridiron, one tin dripping pann one tinn grater Cullender broyler pudding pan and a pan with a false bottom to boile fish in one copper pan tin'd over with a false bottom to stew Carps in, one copper pot tin'd to drinke in, one brass larding pinn one iron to draw foule with one iron and two large wooden peeles* (?) two large and one little frying pans two Alchymy Spoones, one greate Salt Tubb with a Cover and a padlock one little Salt box a wood skreen to sett before the meate at the fire, a tub to put water in, a tub to receive the water in and one for the hogswash* A Souce Tub, one wooden platter two greate bowles and three dishes one basket for Sea Cole and one pair of bellows Two wooden foure footed stooles a rack for bacon and one mincing block, pewter one venson pasty plate

and one large charger belonging to it, Twelve dishes of the largest size, twelve dishes of the next size four Intermesses* (?) to them foure pye plates, one large intermesse (?) for a grand Sallett* with broad brims and armes in the middle, foure large Sallett dishes one Disart with five sallet dishes of a size belonging to it, six dozen of trencher plates foure porrings. twelve Scuocers (?) one large and one lesse pewter bason, one large cisterne, two large flaggons one lesser flaggon of another fashion, one pewter pott to wash glasses in with a ladle one large and three lesser paire of Candlesticks.

In the Inner larder within the Kitchen Six shelves foure formes and a tressell to sett Tubbs on, one large lesser powdering tubbs with Covers, one greate one lesser Sowre Tubbs one paire of Scailes and a pound lead weight, one haire Sieve, one pepper mill three earthen potts for kitchen shelfe one stone bottle for vinegar.

In the little roome under the staires. Two little barrells for verjuice*, a tressel they stand on a baskett for Charcole, a deale box for Candles, a Chest of drawers for spice.

In the back kitchen foure tables two Oven lidds, a paire of Scailes with an iron beam a chaine to hang them on, and an Iron halfe hundred weight, two new Spinning wheels a paire of Woodden racks.

In the Inner Larder in the back kitchen, Twoe shelves One stand one forme and a board on it a Salting Trough for bacon, a safe for cold meate, a window Shutter, a greate flower Tubb with a cover a lesser flower Tubb with a covr. a flower barrell and an Oatmeale Barrell, a locke and a key to the doore.

In the Meale house four shelves and a board for A Seate, one table, one greate kneading trough with an hand scoup an Iron Scraper and a lesser trough, a greate meale tub with a cover two greate and two lesser tressells one meale ladder, one haire, one lacene (?) sive, one rowling pin a lock and key to the doore.

In the great Seller Thirteene upright hogges heads, two little rundletts* one Candle Chest foure stands the hogsheads stands on, one tubb The Tappins of bier falls in, one greate Funnell.

In the little Ayle Seller. One Tearce,* two stands the Ayle stands on, two little rundletts.

Upon the Staircase Twenty four pictures greate and little viz: Bacchus or Autumne over the Buttery doore, a little peece of fruite over the parlor doore Twelve Caesars, Herord and John Baptists head Hunting of the Stagg: Martir. T Bera & I Calvin Orpheus. Ahasuerus and Hester, a Countrey farme, a little water peece, a garden house in water colours, a round table, two Turkey worke chaires.

In the greene and silver roome. The hangings round the Chamber of greene and silver leather with fourteene new skins of the same and a square skreen of the same, one hanging shelfe of green and gold one stand for water of green and silver two new square tables one with a drawer a picture over the Chimney one paire of iron dogs for the Chimney one sett of new fashion brasse Andirons viz: Two Andirons two dogs one fire shovell one paire of tongs and two screws to hold them, one paire of bellows one paire of Snuffers three curtaine rodds, one elboe chaire two little chaires foure folding stooles excludeing the loose wrought covers, two greene Curtaines for winter one lock and key for the Doore Two white window Curtaines.

In the Calicoe or little roome over against it. The hangings round the Chamber of stript Stuffe wth. two Curtaines and rodds a bedsted matt cord and three curtaine rodds foure curtaines and valance of stained Calicoe and lined with white Calicoe wth. tester head piece and Inner valance of the same, a large counterpaine of the same stained calicoe lined with dimity* a table cloth wth. three lapps and Two Cases for two low stooles of the same a new feather bedd, Two feather bolsters and two feather pillows two good new white blanquetts and a close worke Coverlid, a stript table cloth upon one of the tables two new tables wth. Drawers one greate elboe chaire of red leather wth. a case of greene Searge Two high Turkey worke chaires two low stooles of red leather one Turkey worke Cusheon one lookeing glass with a doore frame one Stand for water one close stoole* and pewter pann a lock and key to the doore.

In the Dineing roome The hangings round the roome of gray and gold gilt leather Three King Henry's Pictures, one little picture in a gold frame of water coloures Two greate gilt Sconces with Socketts one Skreene of the same gilt leather Six elboe Chaires of wainescott colour with turned pillars, one elboe blacke Chaire with turned pillars Twelve high chaires of the same garnished with gilt nailes Two spannish tables two black stands a picture over the Chimney of hunting the Stagge, an Indian large matt for the Seate eight white Callicoe window curtains four white Curtains for the drawing roome doore and window Six curtaine rodds three large yellow paragon curtaines of twelve breadthes for winter one large white paragon Curtaine of three breadthes foure window clothes stript wth. gold and silver gilt leather Two Carpetts with lappetts of gold coloured Searge stript and edged wth. gilt leather for the Spannish tables, foure gold coloured Searge Carpetts for the foure greate tables when sett together in this roome Nineteene figured velvett Cusheons and two of the blacke chaire backs lined wth. the same three dozen and marble coloured paveinge tiles for the Chimney Six greate and two little Scollop dishes for the Chimney one flower pott gilt with a Cherubim one paire of gilt bellowes Two white paragon Curtaines over the doore A lock key and bolts to the doore.

In the withdrawing roome The hangings round the roome of gold coloured Searge, One white paragon Curtaine for the winter, one square picture of fruite and Lobsters, one lesser picture of David and Abigail, three King Henry's pictures eleaven little pictures in gold frames, two blacke elboe chaires with turned pillars one blacke Table, two black Squobbs with broad Seats Six gold colour tabbey Cusheons a window cloth stript with gold leather two little heads for the window upon two little China dishes, two woodden flower potts gilded all over with gold a blew glasse bottle rib'd with Gold.

In my neece Annes Chamber The hangings round the roome of greene bayes with a picture over the Chimney one window Curtain rodd, a bedsted three curtain rods wth. a greene Searge laced bedd foure curtains Tester head peece double valance with a broad Silke fringe and a large counterpaine of the same Two feather bedds, Two feather bolsters and one pillow.

More in my neece Annes Chamber, Two white woollen blanquetts one redd rugg One greene flagg* Chaire a feather Cusheon with a bucke on it, one high red leather Chaire a low red leather chaire and stoole with greene searge Cases a plaine wainescott Chest with foure drawers, one high Chest of drawers that stood in my husbands studdy for writings, a wainescott chest to hang clothes in a large blacke leather truncke and one lesser trunck to keepe house linnen in a large redd leather truncke with a Crowne in nailes upon the lidd, a red window Curtaine a paire of Iron doggs for the Chimney two locks and bolts to the doores.

In my womans Closset copper Coffin* for Venison, one greate Copper Sawce pann tinn'd over three greate copper preserving panns tinn'd over, one Copper drinking pott with a lidd one large brasse scummer* one little brasse ladle, foure brasse skillitts and one little skillitt, three tinn'd boxes with lidds one tinn'd box without a lidd for coller beiffe one new tinn Stew pann, one tinn pann with a false bottom to boile fish, one new tinn grater without a bottome, one tinn pasty pann, one tinn dridging box two tinn covers one tinn Coffee pott one Tinn hoop to bake a cake in three dozen and a halfe of tinn biskett panns five tinn fishes for fresh Cheese and Creame two tinn prints to cut paste for garnishing one brasse jagging iron a preserveing furnace two little iron Chaffing dishes one stone morter and a woodden pestle one paire of brasse scailes and five weights one woodeen voyder one box with drawers for spices, one greate deep box wth. lock and key another deale box one broad hanging shelfe and nine other boards with two boards to hold up the pewter, a board to wash white Sarcenetts* on a frame to wash Points De Venee* Six little woodden dishes to boile puddings in, three maple trenchers one rowling pinn, a spoone, a wooden Slice three dry Cowes (?) a case for a looking glasse, one joint stoole and a three cornered stoole, a forme and two short tables twelve baskets for fruite, a round basket for the desert Six little sives Tenn earthen panns of severall fashions, one pipkin* one Sillybub pott, two Scollop dishes and two plates of white mettle foure pitchers Two long blew and white potts to stow plums in eight gally potts* with pickles in them two earthen potts with Covers to keepe Sugar, three greate wide mouthed glasses for pickles Six urinalls whereof three Crooked, a greate maine (?) little glasses vialls and potts one

little iron trivett two broad irons to sett before the fire one frying pann, a jack chaine and a peece of an iron chaine an earthen perfumeiner pott a lock and a key to the doore.

In my Clossett within my womans a Table and five shelves, one red leather chaire covered with green, a joint stoole a deep box for fruite, a long shallow box for jelly glasses seaven other large boxes, four deale boxes, foure wainscott boxes Two little barrells for brandy foure Tinn sheetes, and one sheets of glasse one tinn Tankard two tinn sawce panns two tinn spitting boxes twelve tinn new candlesticks one new tinn Cullender five white Scollop dishes two white plaine Creame bowls six white plates twelve little porringers Sixteene white Custord dishes, seaven greater, five lesser white shallow Custord dishes two white pint potts foure lesser white potts, three greate white porringers Twenty three shallow gally potts for marmalade tenn marmalade glasses thirty gally potts for sweete meats foure white basons and foure blew and white basons Twelve white Chamber potts foure little white potts with ears, foure pewter Socketts for Candlesticks eight Scollop Shells a lock and a key to the doore.

In my owne Chamber, the hangings round the roome of black and yellow brancht stuffe one large dimity blanquet one greene Sarcenett quilt lined wth. stained Callico two turkey worke Cusheons and one black plush leather cusheon one chaire & three low stooles of red leather with sad coloured Covers to them two ordinary little tables with drawers, one plaine wainescott chest of drawers, one wainescott settle a folding skreene with Six leaves, a little wainescott skreene two little hanging shelves, one fire shovell tongs two iron doggs, one paire of bellows snuffers and a Trivett six Coffee Cupps & foure potts one pewter Standish sand box houre glasse pully a reading frame three window Curtaine rodds one brasse Candlesticke with an handle a white chamber pott a wainescott shutter for the window, one grate two brimles pewter basons a lock and key to the doore.

In my maides chamber a bedsted and mattres three curtaine rodds foure curtaines and valance of stript stuffe with a buckrom tester, one feather bed and feather bolster, a pallat feather bed and bolster one greene rugg two white woollen blanketts, two little feather pillows one brasse warming pann, one little brasse candlestick, a large presse and four shelves Two large chests for foule Linnen with a stand to it, a woodden stand for water and a woodden stoole, a lesser woodden for foule linnen [*sic*] five deale boxes one close stoole and pewter pann a window shutter one old haire and one old leather trunck black.

In the Oyster-shell Chamber The hangings round the room of red flock worke A bedstead matt and Coard a new large feather bed and feather bolster and two dozone pillowes an old blanquet next the bed two new white woollen blanquets one new Scarlett coloured rugg.

More in the Oyster-Swell Chamber, foure feild curtaines head peece tester and Counterpaine of thred damaske all edged with fringe, five cases for a Couche and foure foulding stooles and a Cusheon of the same stuffe two square tables with a drawer in one of them, one armed chaire with Turned pillars, one high woodden chaire and a red searge Cusheon foure foulding stools with quilts and a foulding footestoole of gilt leather one red stand for water Three Curtaine rodds for the windows, five window Curtains of stained Callicoe Two Table clothes of the same with three laps one paire of Andirons with brasse knobbs, one paire of Doggs, a fire shovell one paire of tongs bellows and Snuffers a lock key and bolt to the doore.

In the little Chamber over aginst the Oystershell roome, the hangings round the roome of stript stuffe green and yellow Two window Curtaines of the same with two curtaine rods for them a bedsted with wainescott head matt Cord and three Curtaine rods foure Curtaines and valance of greene searge with silke fringe with a head peece and buckrom tester, a feather bedd, a feather boulster and feather pillowes all very good Two square tables the new one wth. a drawer two white woollen blanketts, one good red rugg one Red one greene carpetts for the tables One Red stand for the water one close stoole* and pewter pann one elboe chaire of red Cloth and a Turkey worke Cusheon, one Turkey worke high chaire Two stooles with red and gold leather one broken lookeing glasse a lock and key to the doore.

In the Closett within the greene chamber, foure broad boards for table and shelves the hangings round the roome of greene stript stuff and a long table Cloth of the same a settle with a greene searge Case with a silke fringe a close stoole & a pewter pan.

In the Laundry roome, a bedsted matt and Cord without head and Tester a feather bed and feather bolster, a flock bed and two flock bolsters Two white woollen blanquetts, one yellow Coverlid one large square Table, Two lesser Tables, one napkin beater, one forme, two folding stooles one broken, one Cheese presse & a tressel it stands on, one large Chest with lock and key for linnen three Basketts for clothes five hampers for Linnen one line or bed Cord, one old white blanquett to smooth on, one old yellow Coverlid to put wooll in, a fire grate shovell Tongs an iron before the fire one paire of bellows a lock and key to the doore.

In the roome even with the Laundry roome, a bedsted wth. wainescott head and Tester Matt Cord and three Curtaine rods, foure Curtaines and vallance of grey searge with a silke caul fringe, a feather bedd two feather boulsters and Two feather pillows all good, one grey rugg two good white woollen blanquets the hangings round the roome of old stript stuffe and three window rodds one Elboe and three gray Searge chaires three red leather chaires, covered with green one high Cupbord & one Chaire Table one large woodden chest for linnen with two locks and keys one lesser woodden Chest with two locks and keyes, one paire of old Andirons with brasse knobs a lock and key to the doore.

In the Chamber over the Oyster shell roome The hangings round the roome of stript stuffe, a bedsted with wainescott head and tester matt cord and three curtaine rodds foure Curtaines and vallance of red Searge with silke fringe Two good feather bedds one feather bolster one flock bolster and two feather pillowes Two good white blanketts one good red rugg another new bedstead matt Cord and three Curtaine rodds four blew Searge Curtaines and valance stript with blew and white silke lace and silke fringe with an head peece and buckrom Tester one good one worse feather bedd, one feather bolster, one flock bolster two feather pillows, Two white woollen blanketts and one blew rugg one window Curtaine and rodd one of the foure dineing roome tables one table cloth of liots (?) one Cupbord with two shelves and another with a drawer one short Couch covered with greene Searge one low stool covered wth. greene two high red leather chaires covered with greene covers a lock and key to the doore.

In Bede (?) the Butlers Chamber, foure yellow bayes curtaines and vallance one new yellow cloth Coverlid Two shelves and one little table with a drawer & one forme a lock and key to the doore.

In the middle garrett, a bedsted matt cord three curtaine rodds four stript curtaines & valance, a feather bed a flock bedd two feather bolsters, two white woollen blanketts, and one greene rugg one high red leather chaire two of the Dineing roome tables, and a peece of hangings upon one of the tables a lock and key to the doore.

In the Clossett within the middle garrett, One new green one old green, one old red ruggs, one new yellow woollen Coverlid three new white woollen blanquets two short feather bolsters, one flock bolster new matting one woodden stand for a looking glasse a lock and key to the doore.

In the roome between the middle garrett and Erstwhile chamber, a new high bedstedd matt cord and rodds foure stript Curtaines and valance, a new trundle bedd with a Canvas laced a feather bed and feather bolster and a flock bed and bolster all good, one old white blanquet one old yellow Coverlidd one settle a lock and key to the doore.

In Erstwhile the Balys Chamber, a bedsted matt cord three curtaine rodds foure stript curtaines and valance and a buckrom Tester, one feather bed, one feather bolster one flock bolster one little blew quilt Two white woollen blankets one greene rugg one square table with a drawer one red leather carpett one drum and sticks, one high red leather chaire with a greene Case, a lock and key to the doore.

In the Drying garrett One Trundle bed frame a round table with a drawer a peece of an high Cupbord, a bedsted for the darke coloured bed and three Curtaine rodds corded together two good stills and an old still head three good hampers, one black case for a lookeing glasse, a lock and key to the doore.

In the Dayrye, a Cheese presse, four hanging shelves, with the instruments they hang on eight table shelves with their frames, one Table one old wainscot forme one bench with two tressels it stands on, Six kymnells (?), two Cheese Tubs one old whey tubb six Cheese fatts, two paire of Cheese tongs two sutors (?) one Chirne Seaven Creame potts one paire of butter scale with a pound stone one butter board three steps to stand upon one stoole two Bennett (?) potts, one Skim dish one quart one pint dishes one Cheese sive, one butter print one Kiner* two milke pales one water pale.

In the Chamber over the Dairay. Three broad shelves Two formes Two old Cheese boards Two old Hampers one Stoole.

In the Poultrey houses two new penns in the first house, Two penns in the Second one old Bowle there one old bucket five Chicken troughes, one greate turkey penn in the third house one Chicken pen and one Henn penn.

In the Brewhouse A furnace or Copper, two brasse brewing kettles a Cowler a measching fatt, . . . one kiner, under the mash fatt one working fatt a lesser working fatt one long trough a box sive one water spout two link hangers and one iron Barr. Washing vessells in the Brewhouse Three bucking* tubbs foure kiners one old washing tubb one long washing tubb Two old formes to sett the buck* on one old stoole.

In the Chamber over the Brewhouse foure hampers, one pack Sadle three little old barrells, one Ark* to putt feathers in, five old little barrells.

In the Mill house one tub to worke drinke in, one Crutch to kill sheep on one little square Copper kettle one little brasse kettle one hey tubb one little hand paile one Shuttle one ladeing pale one old barrell one old chicken pen one old hogg buckett.

In the Mens Chamber Three Bedsteads two old feather bedds Two old flock beds two pillows, two bolsters foure old blanketts, One old rugg One yellow and one greene Coverlidd.

(Sig.) B. Tyrrill.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

Cal. Chanc. Rolls	Calendar of Chancery Rolls
Cal. Chanc. Warr.	Calendar of Chancery Warrants
Cal. Chart	Calendar of Charter Rolls.
Cal. Close	Calendar of Close Rolls.
Cal. Cur. Reg.	Calendar of Curia Regis Rolls.
Cal. Doc. Ir.	Calendar of Irish Documents.
Cal. Fin.	Calendar of Fine Rolls.
Cal. Inq. Misc.	Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions.
Cal. I.P.M.	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem.
Cal. Lib.	Calendar of Liberate Rolls.
Cal. Mil. Pap.	Calendar of Milanese Papers.
Cal. Pap. Regs.	Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland.
Cal. Pat.	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Cal. Scut.	Calendar of Scutage Rolls.
Cal. S.P.	Calendar of State Papers.
Cal. S.P. Just. R. of I.	Calendar of State Papers, Justiciary Rolls of Ireland.
F.F.	Feet of Fines.
Harl. MS.	Harleian Manuscripts.
Hist. MSS. Comm.	Historical Manuscripts Commission Collection.
P.R.O.	Public Records Office.
T.E.A.S.	Transactions of Essex Archaeological Society.
V.C.H.	*Victoria County History.*
Vis.	Visitations of Heralds from College of Arms.

Chapter One

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131. Cal. Close, 13 February 1372.
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42. P.R.O. Prob. 11/111. 45 Windebank.

43. P.R.O. Prob. 11/125. 23 Rudd.
44. P.R.O. Prob. 11/130. 87 Weldon.
45. P.R.O. Prob. 11/258. 360 Berkeley.
46. P.R.O. Prob. 11/308. 92 Laud.
47. P.R.O. Prob. 11/345. 65 Bunce.
48. P.R.O. Prob. 11/258. 317 Berkeley.
49. Alum Oxon.
50. P.R.O. Prob. 11/148. 10 Hele.
51. P.R.O. Prob. 11/204. 72 Essex.
52. P.R.O. Prob. 11/302. 300 Nabbs.
53. P.R.O. Prob. 11/136. 90 Soane.
54. P.R.O. Prob. 11/363. 122 Bath.
55. P.R.O. Prob. 11/152. 65 Skynner.
56. P.R.O. Prob. 11/295. 508 Pell.
57. P.R.O. Prob. 11/189. 74 Campbell.
58. P.R.O. 11/356. 19 Reeve.
59. P.R.O. Prob. 11/379. 49 Cann.
60. P.R.O. Prob. 11/207. 42 Fairfax.
61. P.R.O. Prob. 11/212. 82 Pembroke.
62. P.R.O. Prob. 11/128. 87 Cope.
63. P.R.O. Prob. 11/325. 138 Carr.
64. P.R.O. Prob. 11/389. 143 Foot.
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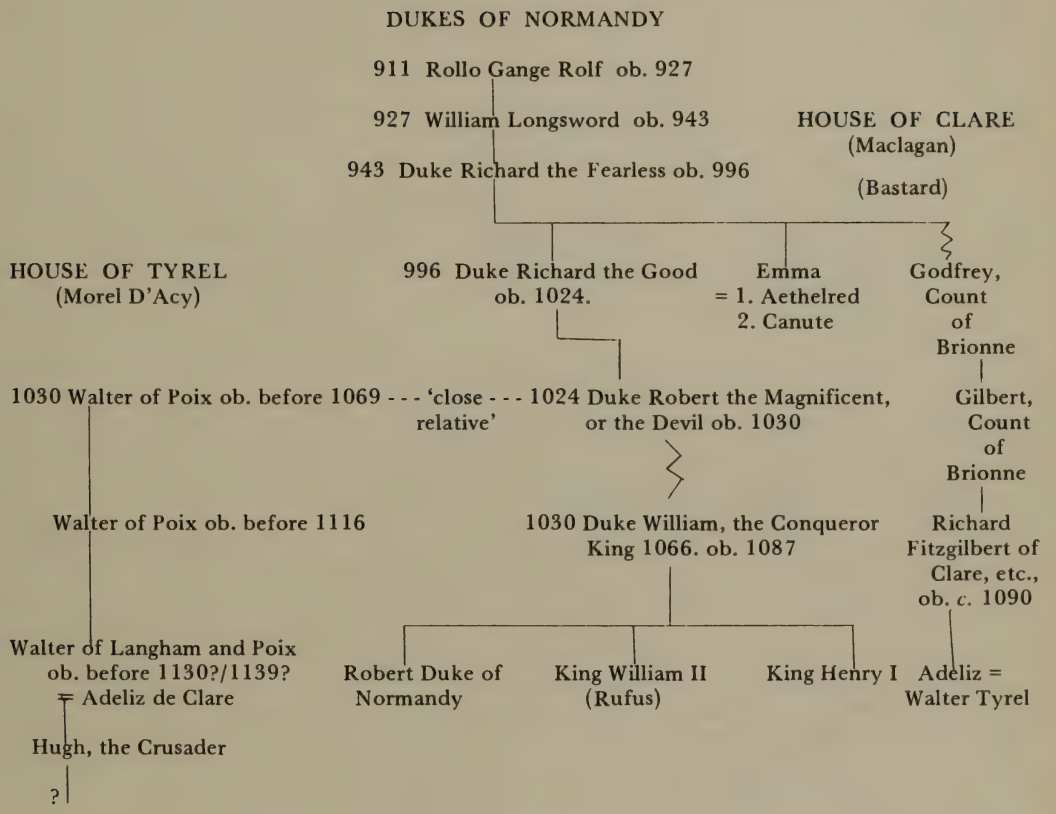
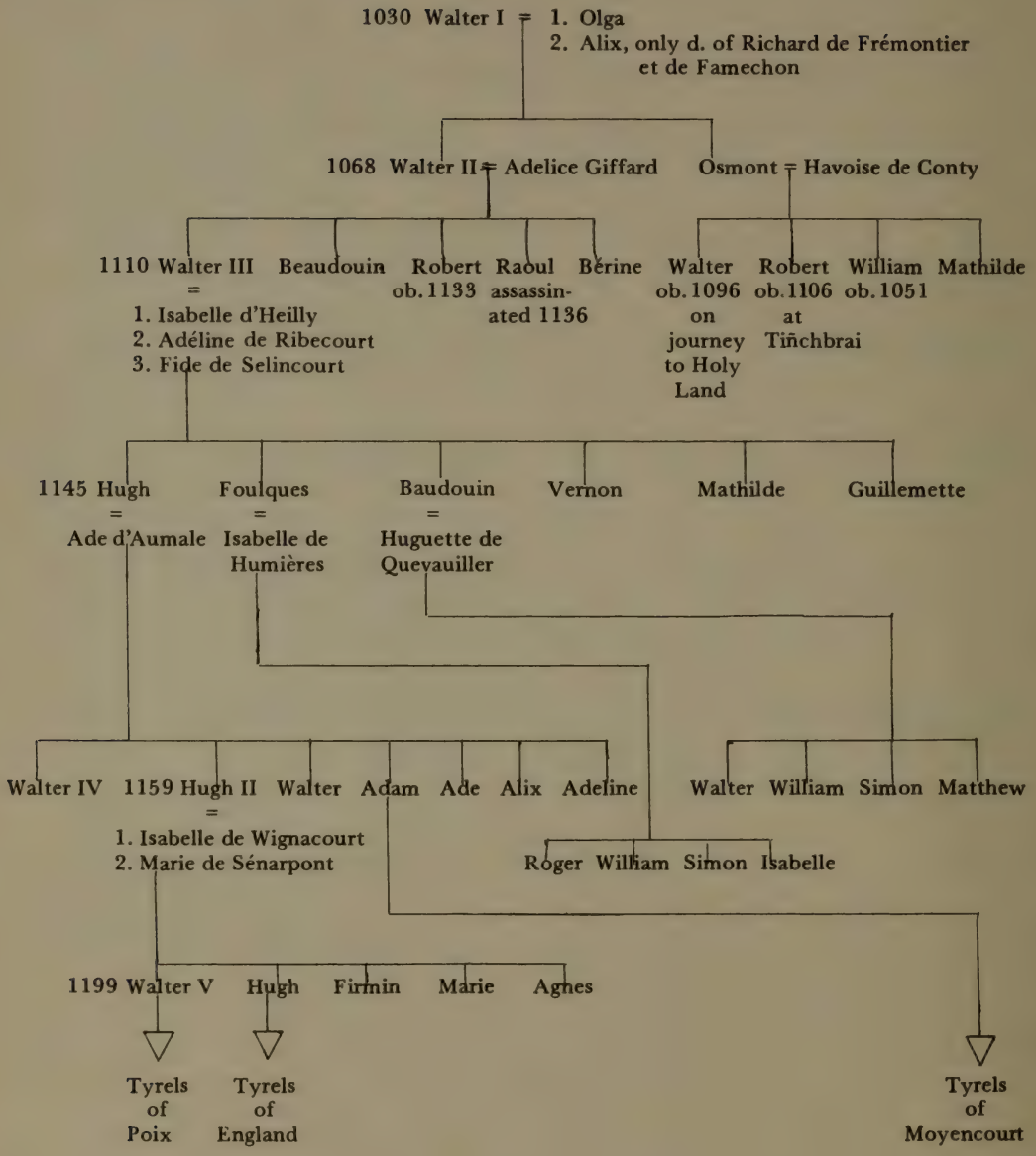
PEDIGREE 1


DUKES OF NORMANDY
911 Rollo Gange Rolf ob. 927
927 William Longsword ob. 943
943 Duke Richard the Fearless ob. 996
HOUSE OF CLARE
(Maclagan)
(Bastard)
HOUSE OF TYREL
(Morel D'Acy)
996 Duke Richard the Good
ob. 1024.
Emma
= 1. Aethelred
2. Canute
Godfrey,
Count
of
Brionne
1030 Walter of Poix ob. before 1069
'close
relative'
1024 Duke Robert the Magnificent,
or the Devil ob. 1030
Gilbert,
Count
of
Brionne
Walter of Poix ob. before 1116
1030 Duke William, the Conqueror
King 1066. ob. 1087
Richard
Fitzgilbert of
Clare, etc.,
ob. c. 1090
Walter of Langham and Poix
ob. before 1130?/1139?
= Adeliz de Clare
Robert Duke of
Normandy
King William II
(Rufus)
King Henry I
Adeliz =
Walter Tyrel
Hugh, the Crusader
?

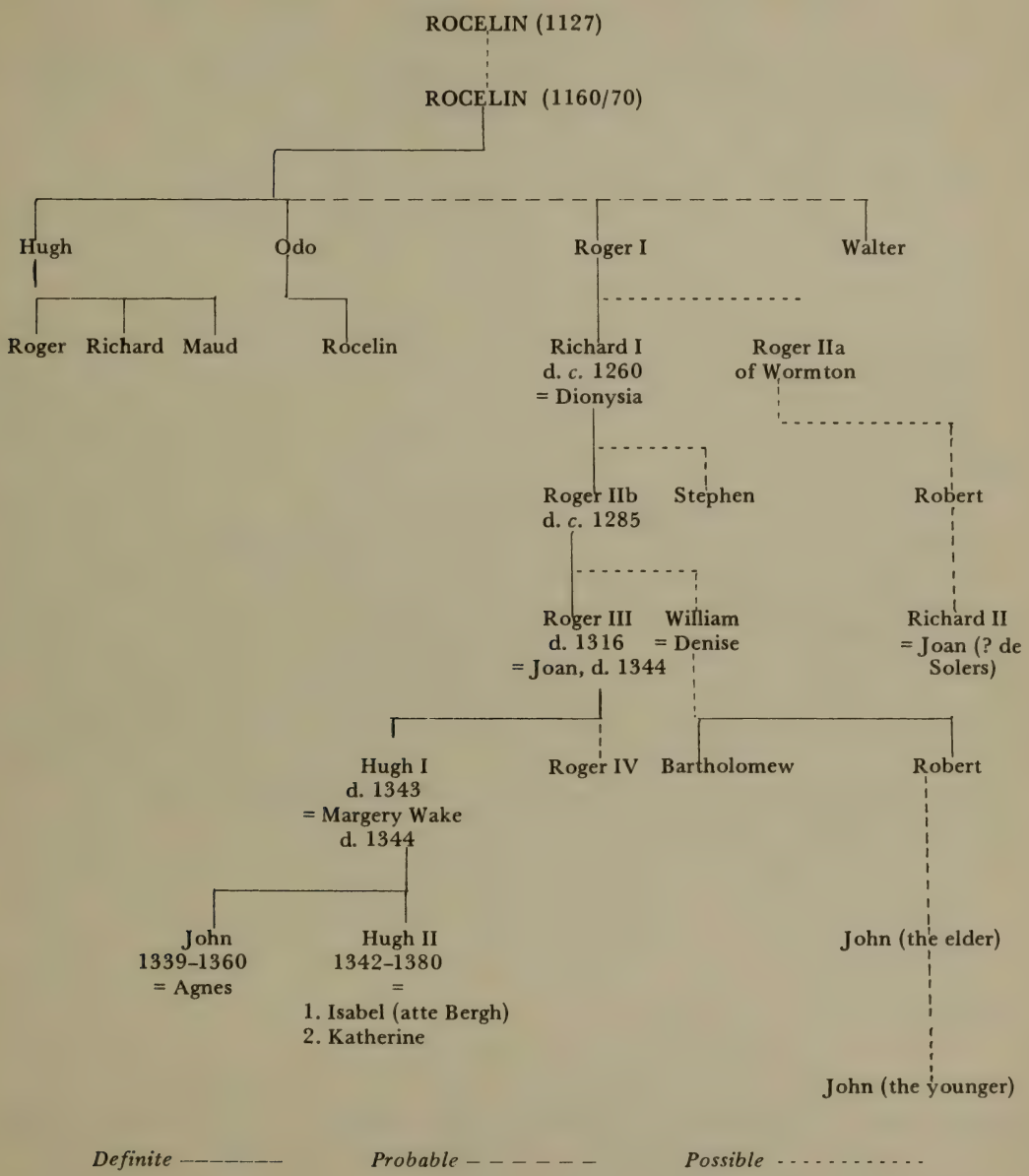
PEDIGREE 2

THE EARLY TYRELLS OF POIX
(Cuvillier-Morel D'Acy)



PEDIGREE 3

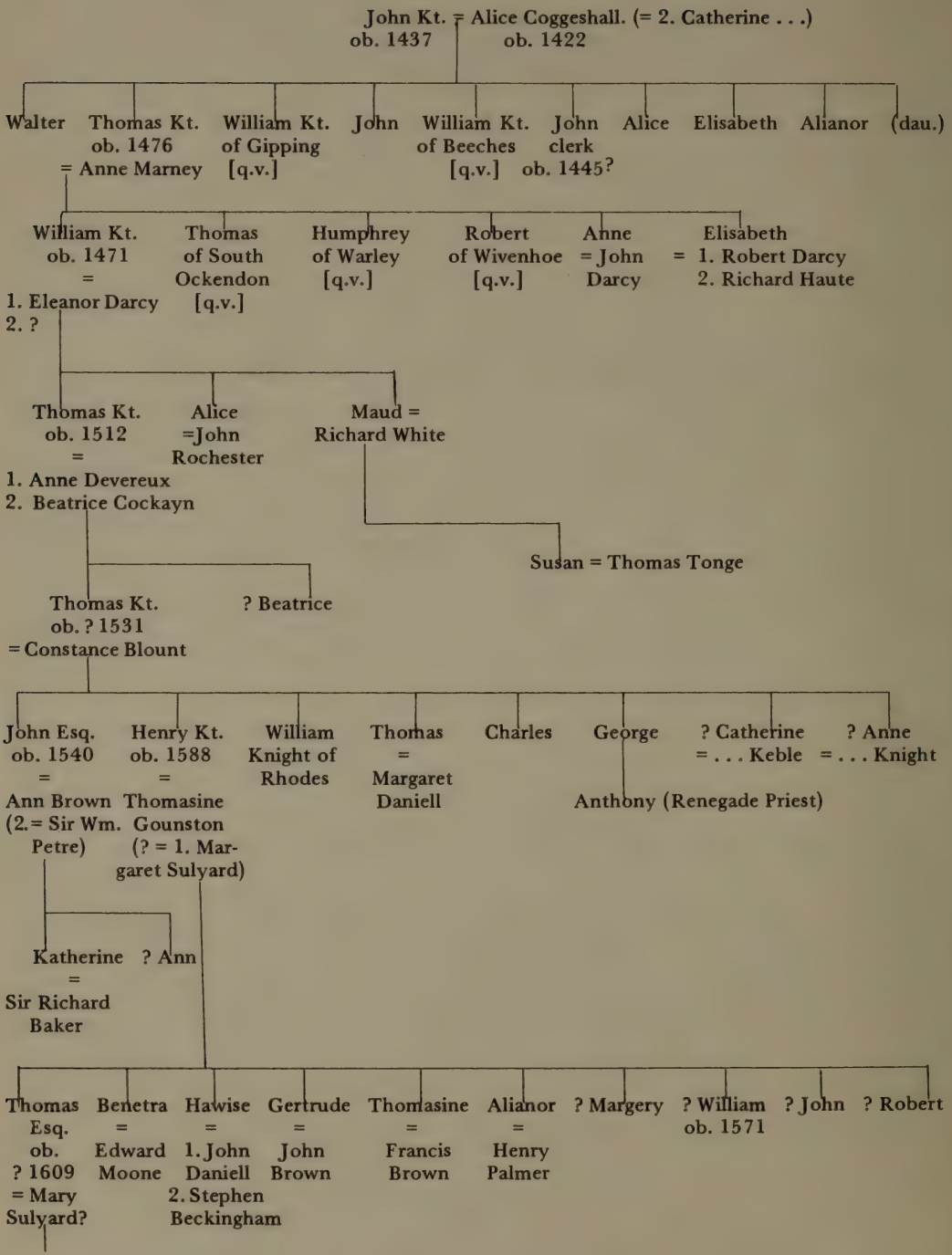
TYRELLS OF THE 'WELSH BORDER' COUNTIES



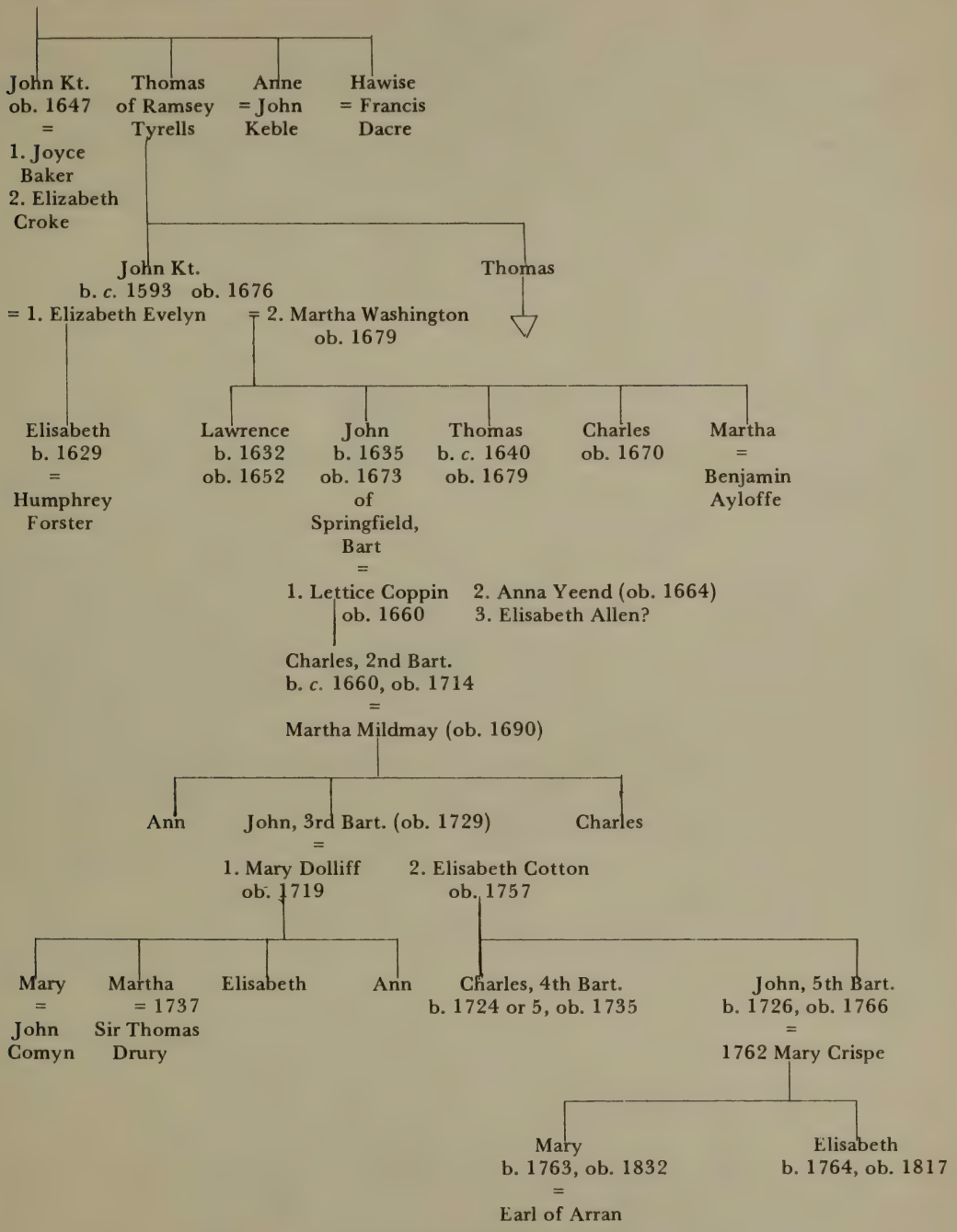
Definite ———— *Probable* – – – – – *Possible* - - - - - - - - - - -

PEDIGREE 4

TYRELLS OF HERON



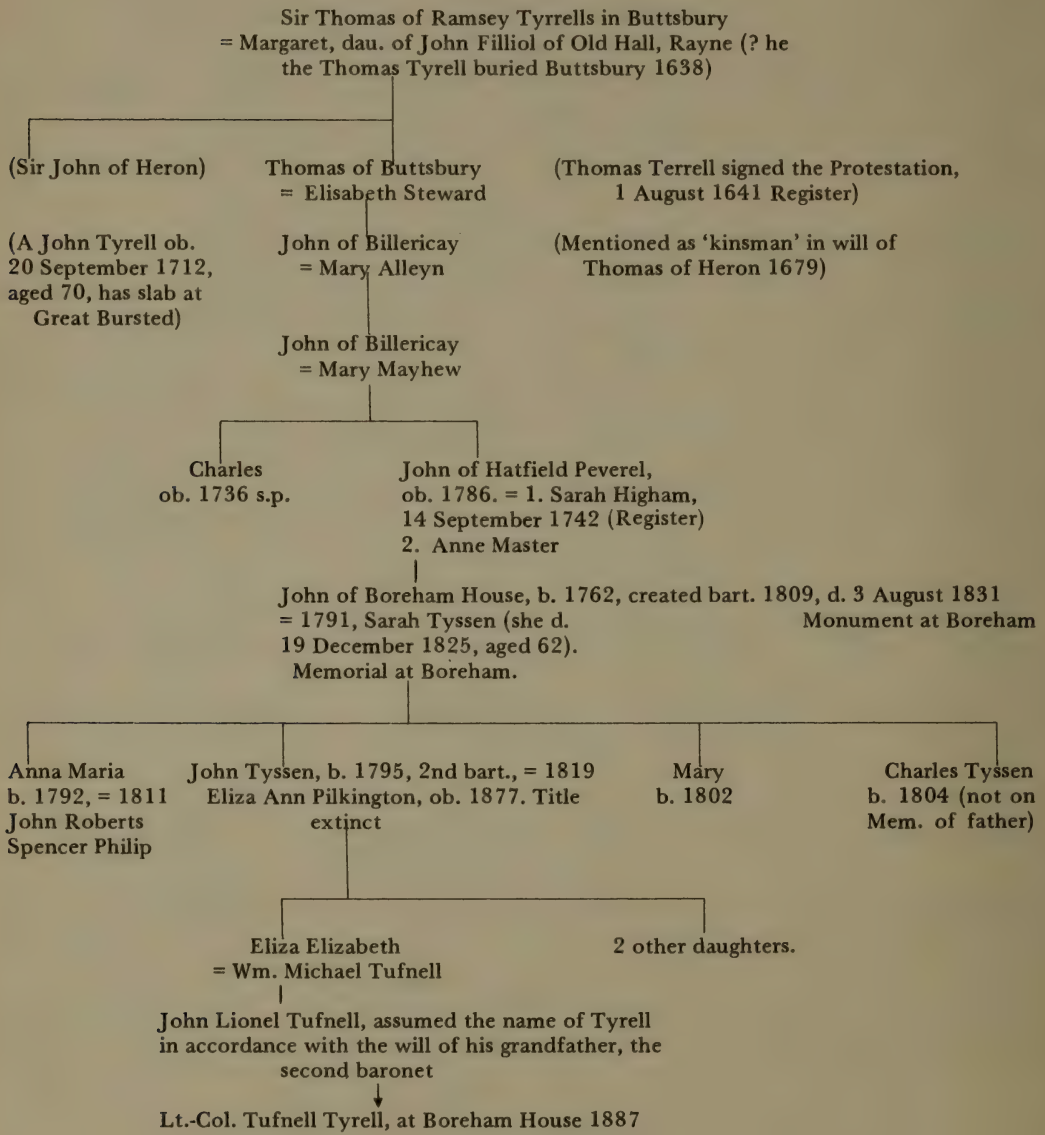
TYRELLS OF HERON—*continued*—



PEDIGREE 5

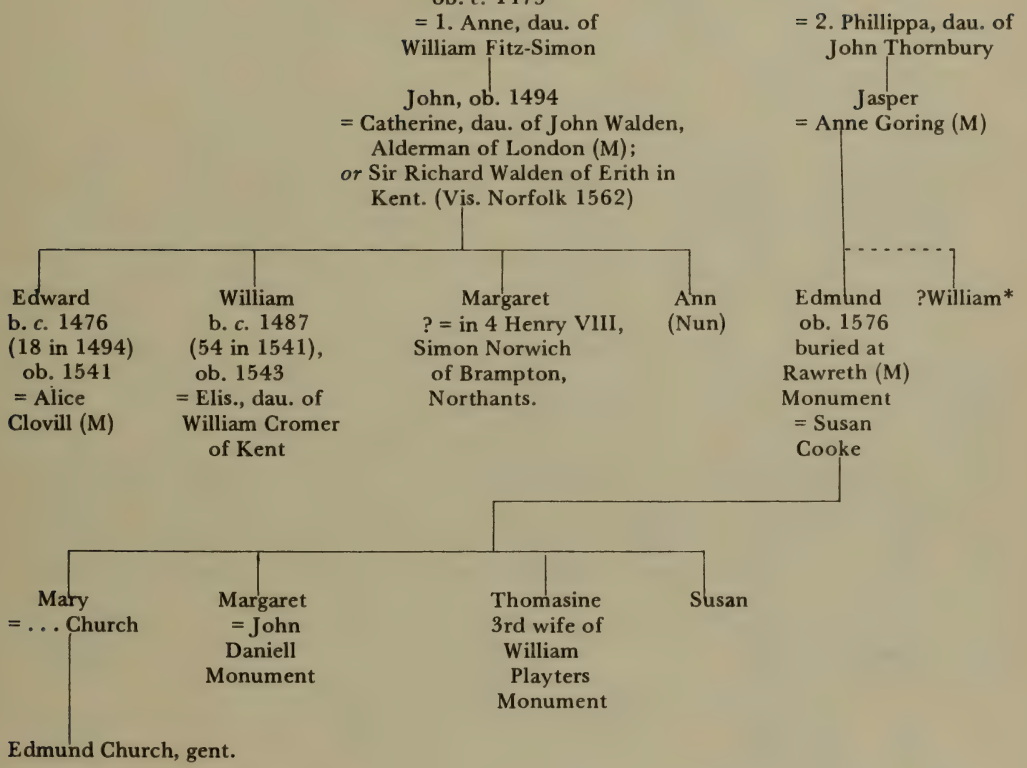
TYRELLS OF RAMSEY TYRRELLS, BILLERICAY AND BOREHAM HOUSE

Pedigree according to Wright (*History of Essex*, 1836), and last three generations (T).



PEDIGREE 6

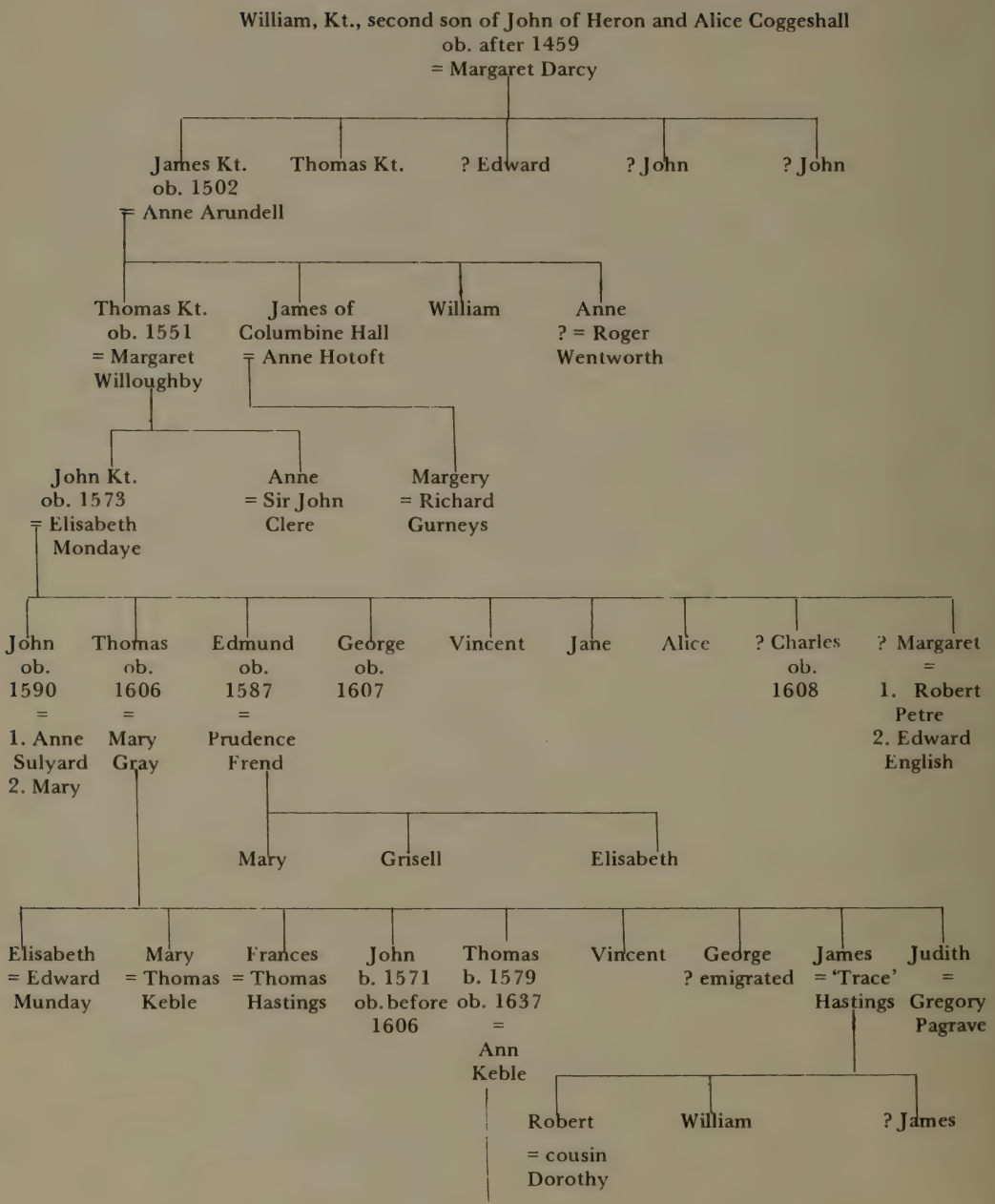
TYRELLS OF BEECHES



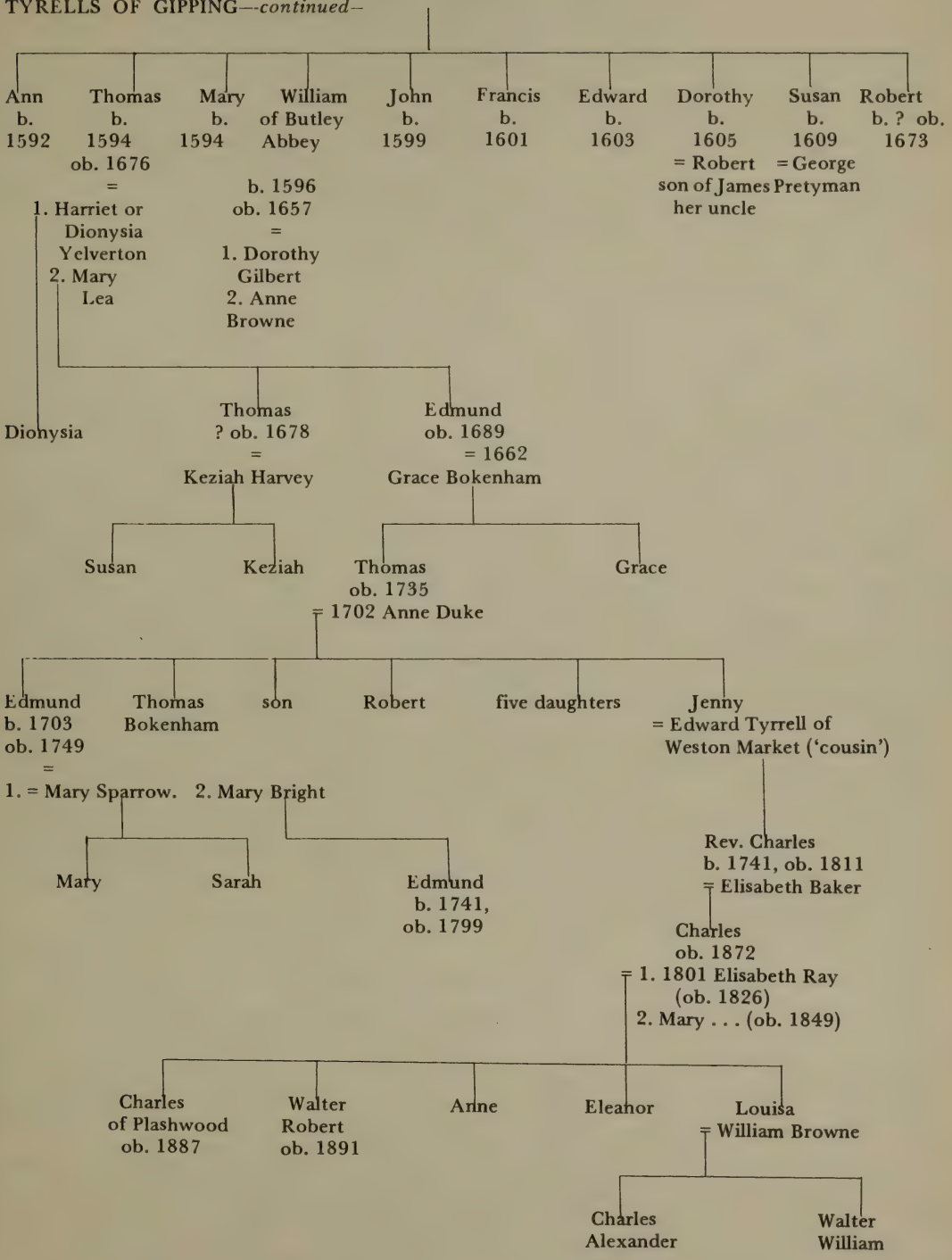
* A 'William Tyrell of Beeches' in Rawreth Parish was present 'to see justice carried out', at the burning of William Hunter at Brentwood on 26 March 1555 (T).

PEDIGREE 7

TYRELLS OF GIPPING

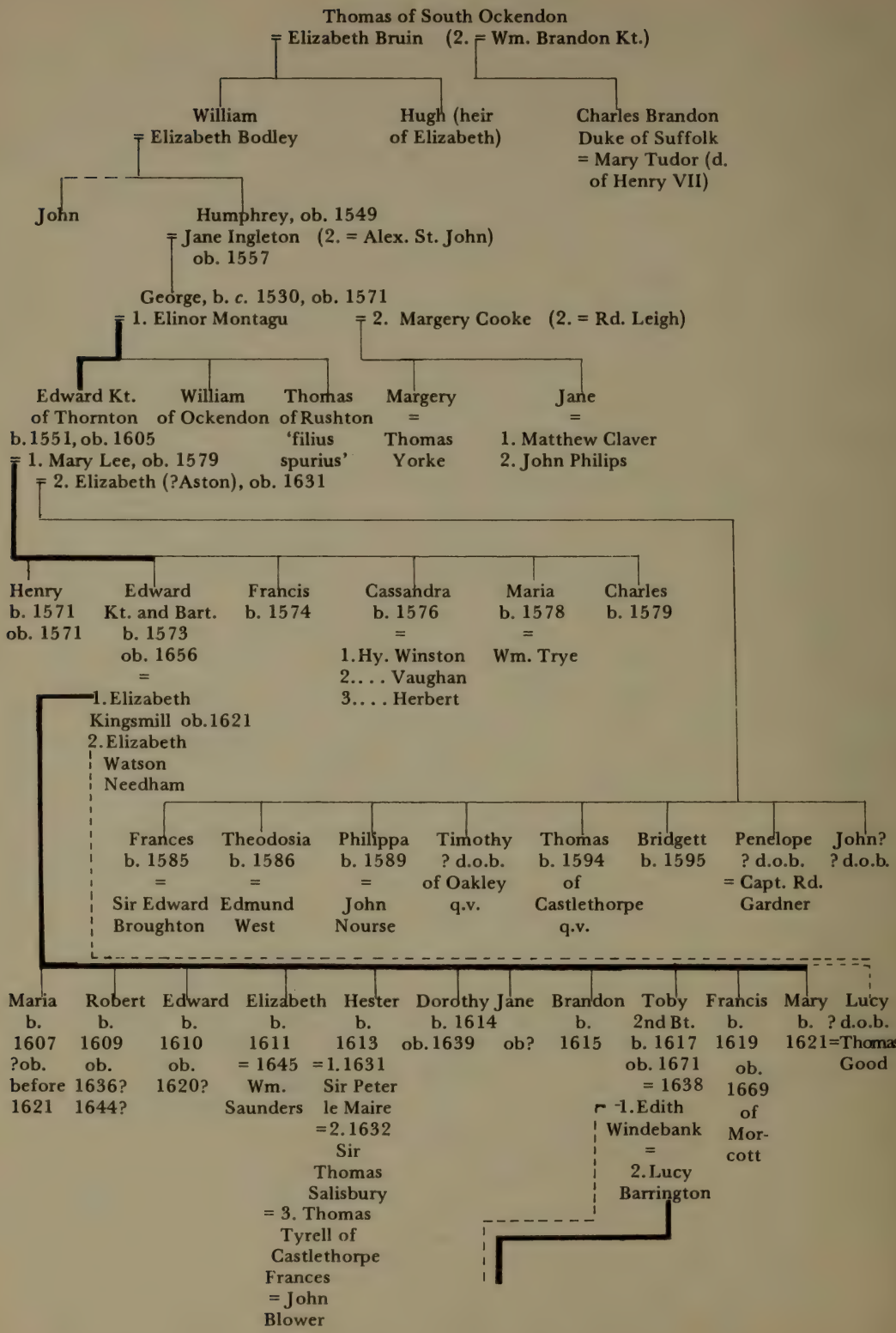


TYRELLS OF GIPPING—*continued*—

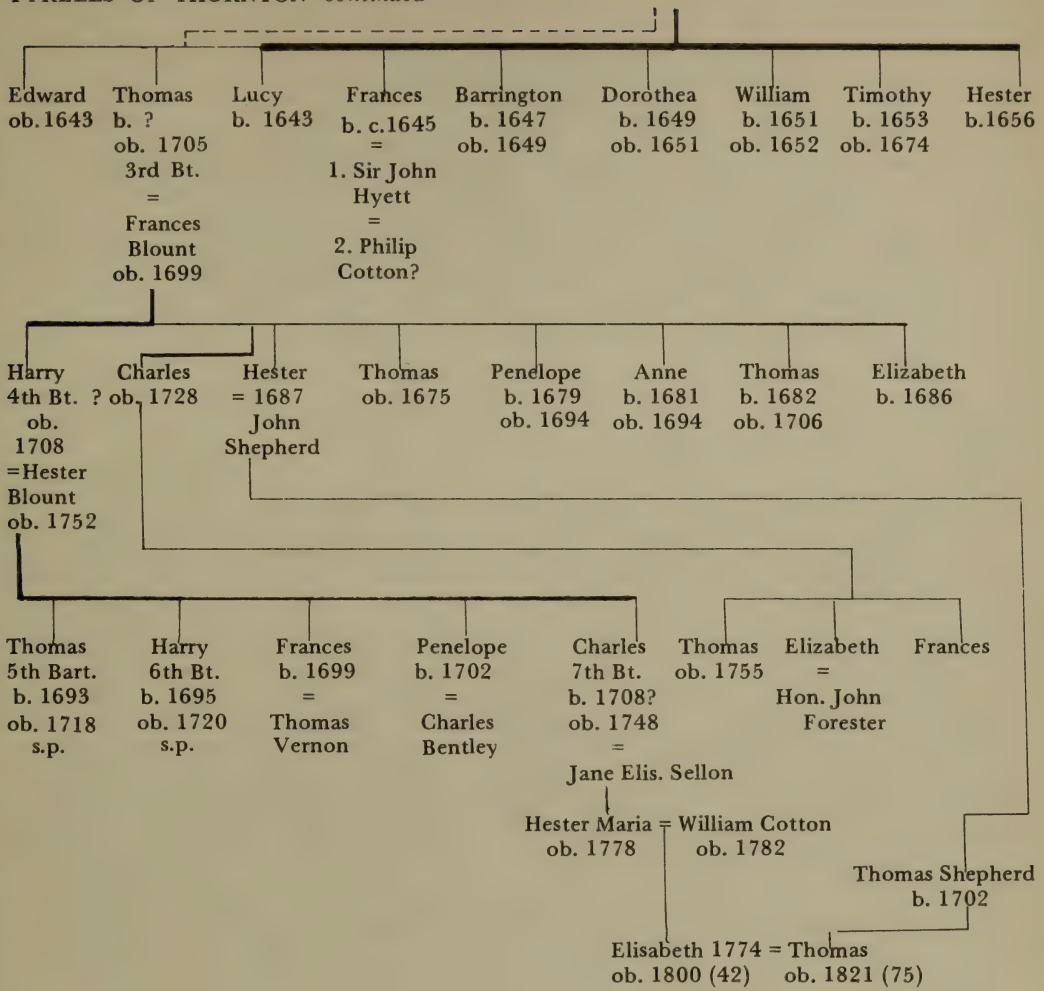


PEDIGREE 8

TYRELLS OF THORNTON

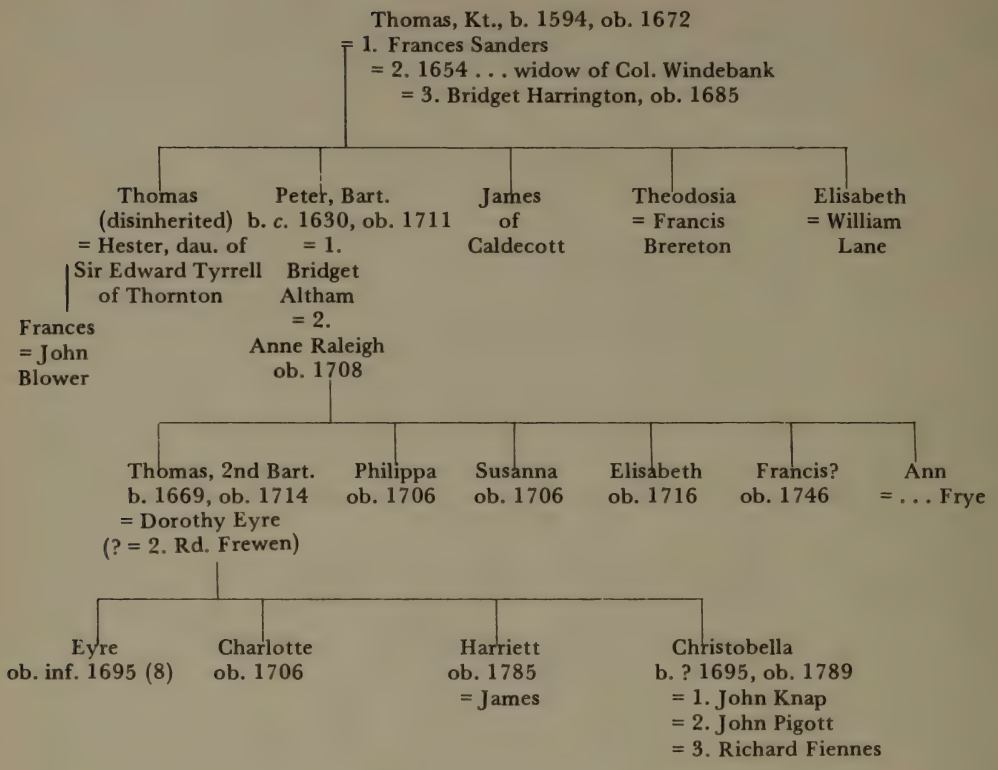


TYRELLS OF THORNTON—*continued*—



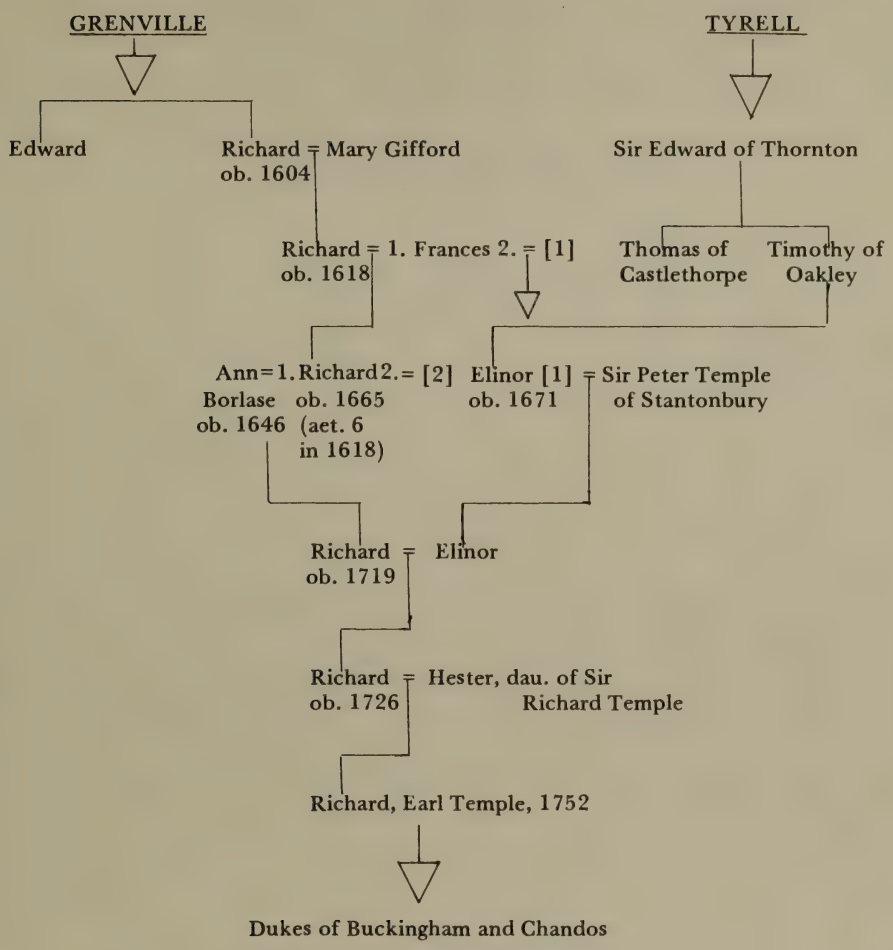
PEDIGREE 9

TYRELLS OF CASTLETHORPE



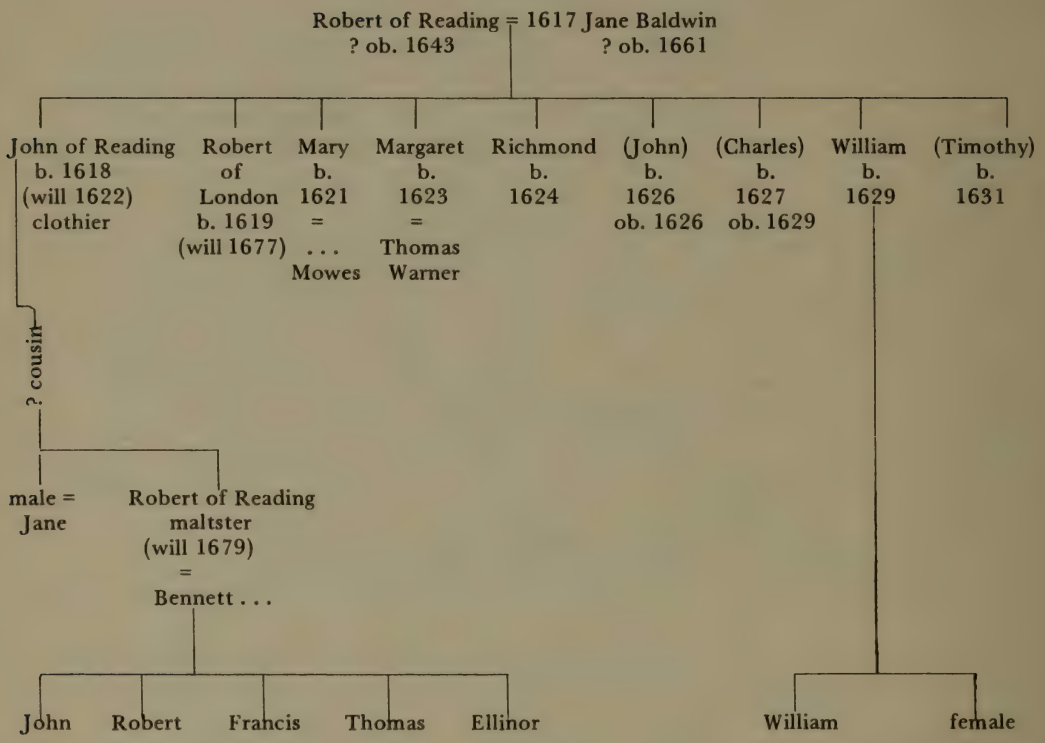
PEDIGREE 10

TYRELL/GRENVILLE CONNECTIONS



PEDIGREE 11

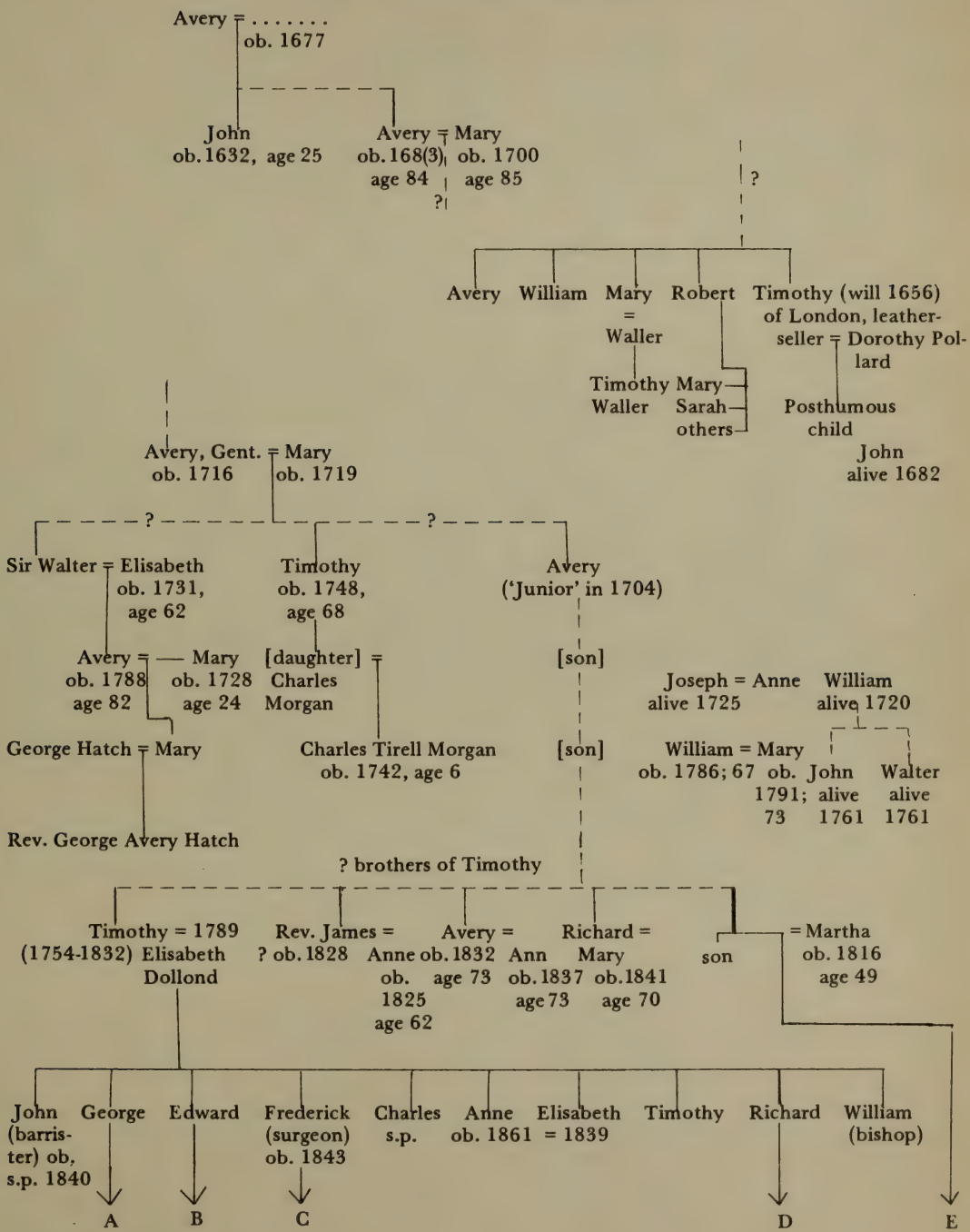
TYRELLS OF READING. C.17



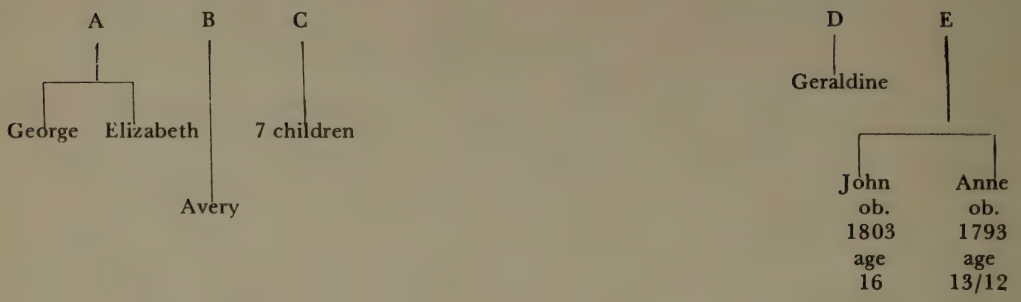
Names in brackets not mentioned in will of brother John.
John and Charles were clearly dead, so presumably Timothy was also dead prior to 1662.

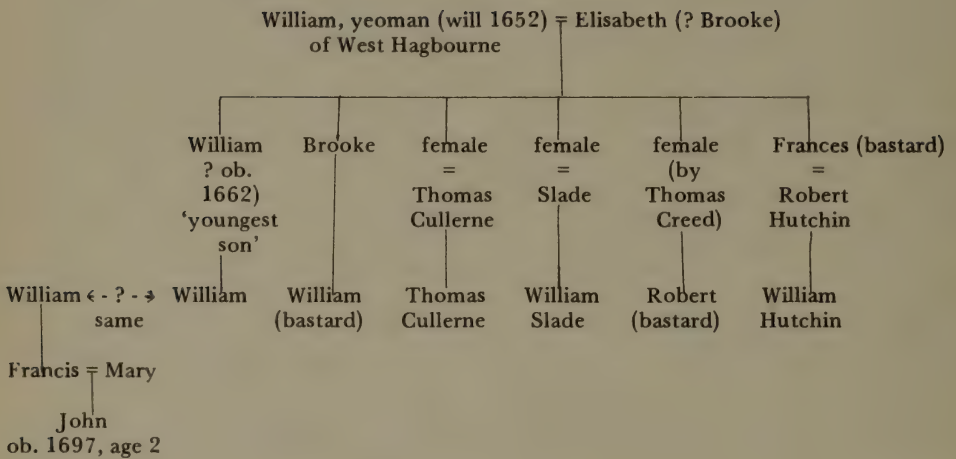
PEDIGREE 12

TYRELLS OF BERKSHIRE. C.17 and C.18



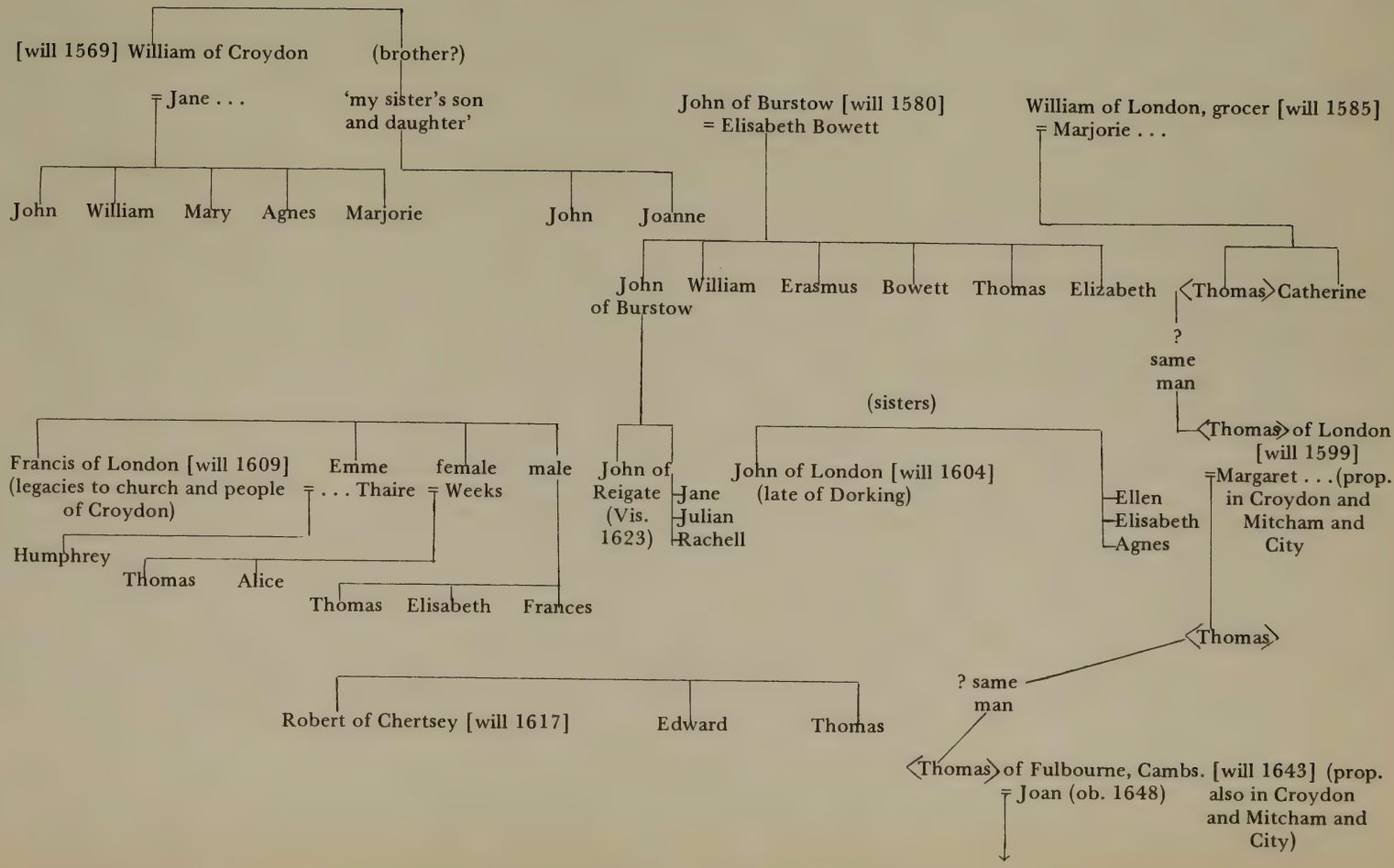
TYRELLS OF BERKSHIRE—*continued*



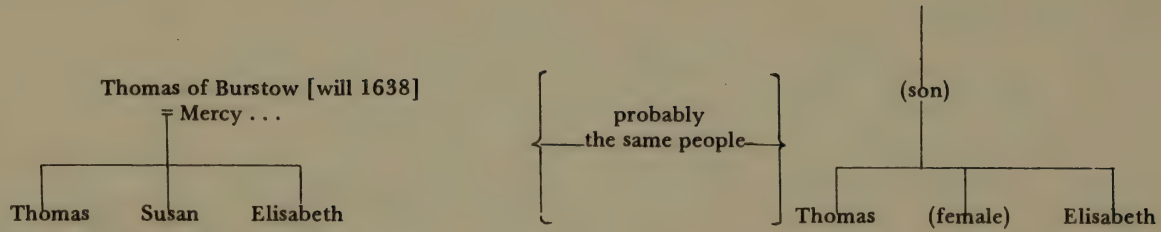


PEDIGREE 13

TYRELLS OF SURREY. C.16 and 17



TYRELLS OF SURREY---*continued*---

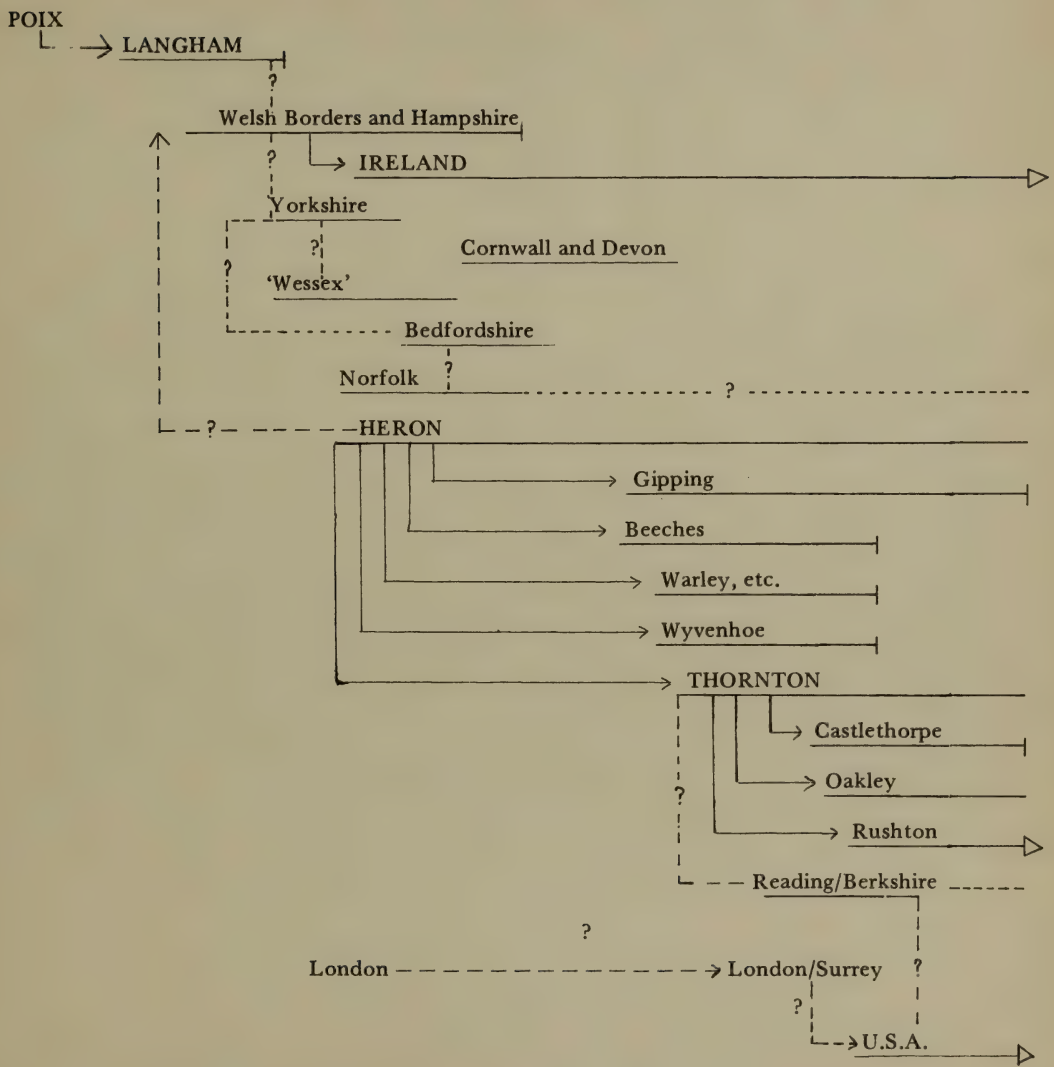


Francis of Stoke D'Abernon [will 1656]
Francis = Elisabeth
Francis
Francis

Henry of . ? (Surrey), mariner [will 1662]
= Elisabeth . . .
[? from Wilton, Norfolk]
Henry

PEDIGREE 14

CONNECTIONS THROUGH THE CENTURIES



11th cent. 12th cent. 13th cent. 14th cent. 15th cent. 16th cent. 17th cent. 18th cent.

MAPS

Map 1: 11th and 12th-century references.

Map 2: Ireland after the Norman invasion.

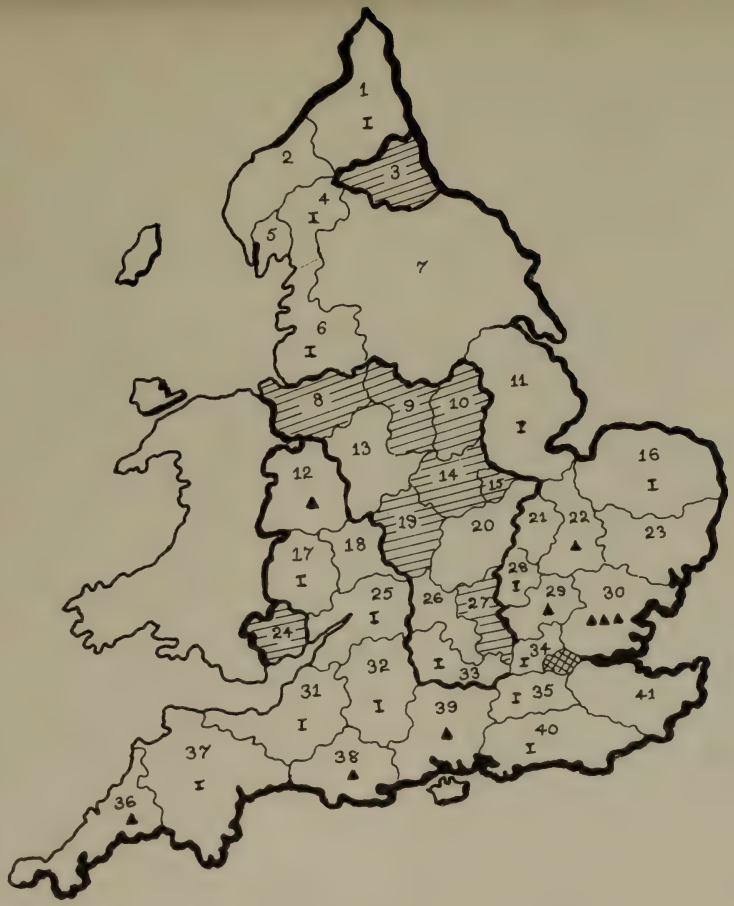
Map 3: Tyrell distribution 1150 to 1249

Map 4: Tyrell distribution 1250-1349

Key to Symbols

Less than three names: I

Approximate multiples of three: ▲



Map 5: Tyrell distribution 1350-1449

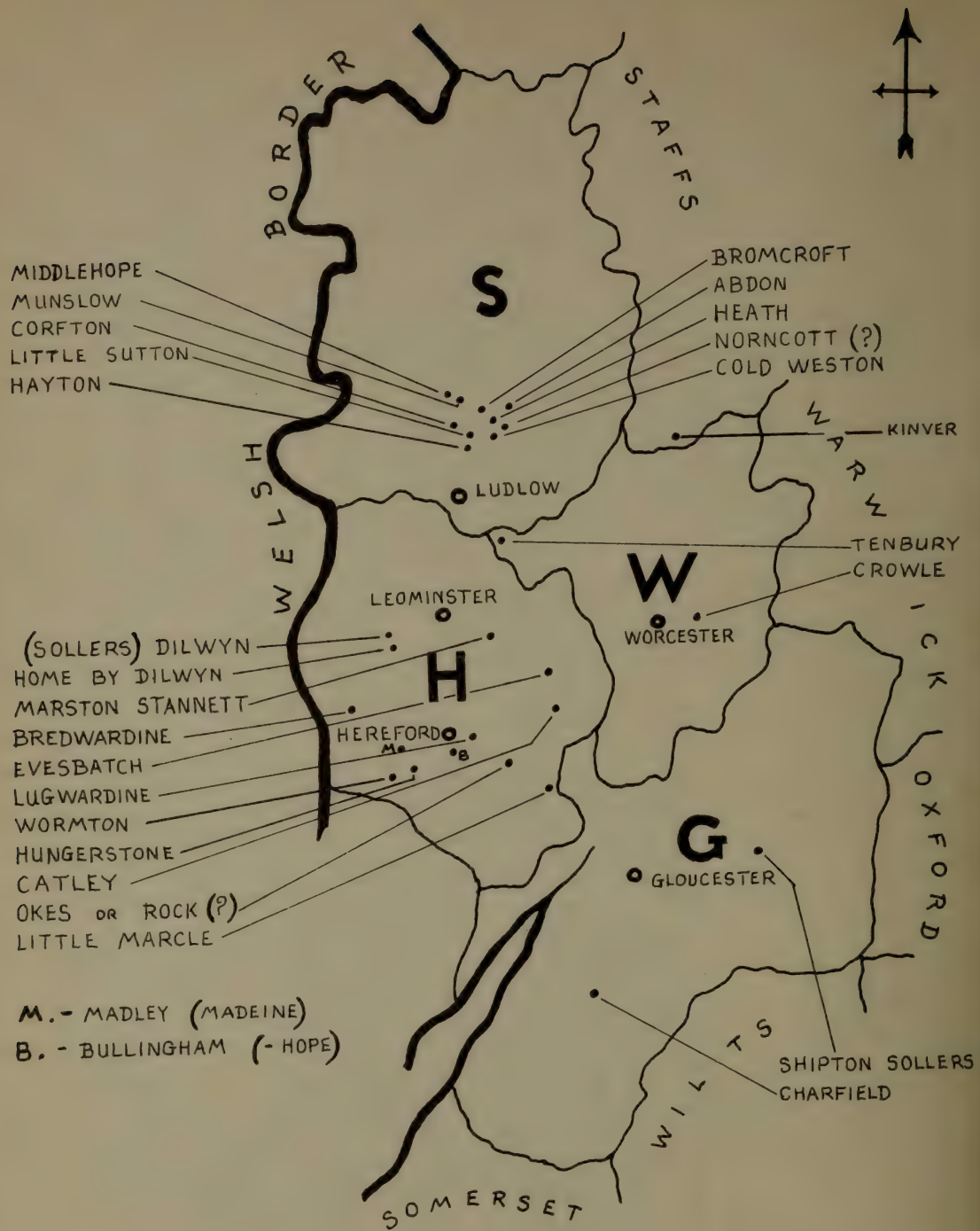
Key to Symbols

Less than three names: I

Approximate multiples of three: ▲

Distribution of Tyrells 1150-1450

1. Northumberland
2. Cumberland
3. Durham
4. Westmorland
5. Furness (part of 6)
6. Lancashire
7. Yorkshire
8. Cheshire
9. Derbyshire
10. Nottinghamshire
11. Lincolnshire
12. Shropshire
13. Staffordshire
14. Leicestershire
15. Rutland
16. Norfolk
17. Herefordshire
18. Worcestershire
19. Warwickshire
20. Northamptonshire
21. Huntingdonshire
22. Cambridgeshire
23. Suffolk
24. Monmouthshire
25. Gloucestershire
26. Oxfordshire
27. Buckinghamshire
28. Bedfordshire
29. Hertfordshire
30. Essex
31. Somersetshire
32. Wiltshire
33. Berkshire
34. Middlesex
35. Surrey
36. Cornwall
37. Devonshire
38. Dorsetshire
39. Hampshire
40. Sussex
41. Kent



Map 6: Tyrell estates, 12th-14th centuries, in Welsh Border Counties—Shropshire, Hereford, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire

Map 7: Tyrell estates, 12th-14th centuries, in South-Western Counties—Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Hampshire

Map 8: Tyrell estates in Essex

Map 9: Tyrell estates, 12th-14th centuries, in Eastern Counties—Bedford, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge and Essex

Map 10: Tyrell estates in Buckinghamshire

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